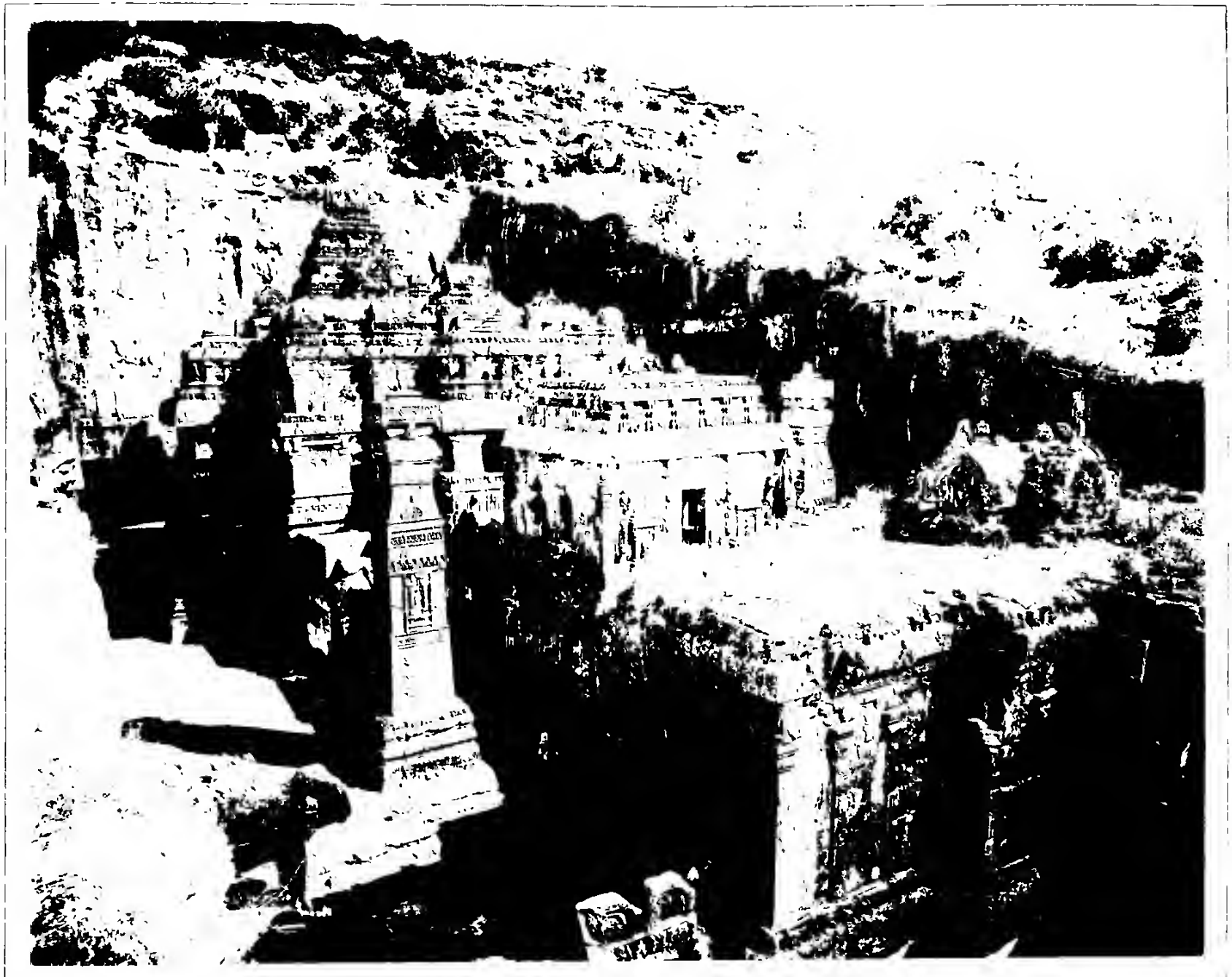

REPORT

ON THE

ELURA CAVE TEMPLES

AND

THE BRAHMANICAL AND JAINA CAVES IN WESTERN INDIA

COMPLETING

THE RESULTS OF THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH SEASONS' OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY

1877-78, 1878-79, 1879-80.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE VOLUME ON "THE CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA."

BY

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LONDON:

TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.

1883.

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PREFACE.

As the object of the present volume is sufficiently explained in the introductory chapter, very little need be added by way of preface to it. Like the preceding one, it is intended as a supplement to the volume on *The Cave Temples of India*, which was intended as a general *resumé* of the whole subject, but required for its completion special descriptions, such as those contained in this work on the Elura Caves, and on the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves elsewhere in Western India. These three volumes thus complete the description and illustration of the Cave Temples in Western India, so far as the Archæological Survey of the Bombay Presidency is at present concerned, and though they are far from exhausting the subject, they may be considered as giving a fair presentation of it. The illustrations of the art and mythology which these works contain, it is believed, will be found interesting and instructive by a numerous and varied class of cultivated and scientific readers.

The inscriptions from Kanheri Caves contained in this volume belong rather to the preceding one; but the first arrangements made for their translation having failed, they were delayed, and finally undertaken by Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., of Vienna, whose able versions will be valued by scholars. To him and to Mr. James Fergusson, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., whose valuable help and suggestions have been most readily afforded me, I owe my most hearty thanks.

Materials have been partly collected for a full description of the Mediæval Temples of the Canarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, especially those at Gadag, Lakshmeśvar, Lakkundi, Dambal, &c., which it is intended shall form the next volume of these reports; and that will probably be followed by another on the Architectural Remains in Gujarát and other districts in the northern parts of the Presidency.

JAS. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 11*th Oct.* 1882.

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REPORT

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA.

THE ELURA CAVES

AND

OTHER BRAHMANICAL AND JAINA CAVE TEMPLES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: THE ELURÂ CAVES.

IN the preceding volume the description of the more notable groups of Buddhist Rock Temples, as given in the work on *The Cave Temples of India*, was considerably amplified by additional details and numerous illustrations, which will enable the architect and student to form a tolerably accurate idea of the style and character of the plans and ornamentation, as well as of the sculptures of these ancient and interesting works. And in addition to these, the facsimiles and translations of the inscriptions will afford fresh materials of a trustworthy character for the epigraphist and philologist, with a certain amount of important information of historical importance. But even that volume by no means exhausts the illustrations that might have been given, especially from Ajanṭâ, of the artistic decorative work on columns, doors, windows, and friezes, or of the extensive mythological sculptures found in such rich abundance there and at Kanheri.

The intention of the present volume is to apply the same process to the illustration of the remaining Rock Temples of Western India. The principal of these are—the whole of the well-known and magnificent group at Elurâ, consisting of splendid representatives of the three classes—Bauddha, Brahmanical, and Jaina Cave Temples; the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves at Bâdâmi, at Aihole, at Ankâi Tankâi, and at Pâtna; and the Brahmanical Caves, chiefly at Jôgêswari on Salsette Island, at Lonad, and at Harischandragad. To give anything like a complete illustration of these Cave Temples, or even of those at Elurâ alone, however, would occupy double the number of plates that can be given in this volume; but with those in *The Cave Temples*, as here supplemented, the reader may form some adequate conception of the characteristics of the different groups, and of the variety of architectural and mythological sculpture that is presented in these early monuments of the religious

faiths of India. "All commentary," remarks M. Boudrillart,[1] "grows pale before the magnificent ruins of the temples of Elurâ, which, more than any other ruins, confuse the human imagination. At the sight of these astounding edifices . . . the development of the plastic arts and of public religious luxury amongst the Hindus receives the most striking attestation in the magnificence of these temples, in the infinite diversity of their details, and the minute variety of the carvings."

In this volume it seems preferable to treat the Elurâ Caves as a whole, and to illustrate the temples found there—Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina—as a series complete in itself. In *The Cave Temples*, three separate chapters were devoted to the three sections of this group,[2] illustrated by about thirty-one plates, and to each section was assigned its relative place among the other excavations of the same character. In the supplementary information to be now given such a distribution is no longer required, as it is only proposed to amplify the illustration of the Elurâ Caves, as given in the former work, in their topographical order from south to north—which, as it happens, is also that of their religious character and pretty nearly of their relative ages. This is the arrangement adopted by Dr. James Fergusson in his *Rock-Cut Temples of India*, who was the first to point out the religious characteristics of the different groups, which this mode of describing them brought to light.

It is only thus by treating of the Elurâ group as a whole that an adequate idea can be obtained of this series of cave temples, which is probably the most magnificent and most interesting in India. The only other group that can rival it in interest is that at Ajanṭâ. There, however, the caves all belong to one religion, and beginning at a very much earlier period than anything found at Elurâ, carry on the history of the Buddhist religion and architecture for nearly 1000 years; and though the series at Elurâ commenced nearly at the time when the excavations at Ajanṭâ ceased, an immense additional interest was added there by the introduction of temples of a novel form belonging to the Hindu religion, and subsequently by others of the Jaina faith, affording a varied picture of the mythology of India during the period of its greatest vigour, such as is nowhere else to be found. Moreover, besides the interest attaching to the individual members of the group, which in themselves are probably equal to any found elsewhere, the whole culminates worthily in the Kailâsa, which is certainly the most magnificent rock-cut temple in India, and by itself is sufficient to give a dignity and importance to this group beyond any other series of rock-cut temples which India possesses.

At Ajanṭâ one feels that there is a homogeneity in the mythology represented in the painting and sculpture throughout the whole range of the caves; they are all manifestly the work of one sect as it developed its art and its mythology. At Kanheri, also, we have the same thing; but while at Ajanṭâ the art rapidly develops in richness, at Kanheri the architecture is, from the earliest to the latest example, exceedingly plain and unadorned; by the style or order of the pillars and the arrangements of the caves, however, we readily see that they are spread over a long period of time, and the mythological figures mark the progress of the school of the Greater Vehicle, but there is no such marked advance in decorative sculpture as we find at Ajanṭâ. The two groups differ in the same manner as

[1] *Histoire des Lutes, Prêtres et Public, depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours.*

[2] See *Cave Temples*, Bk. II., chap. iv, pp. 367–381, and plates lvii to lxv for the Buddha Caves; Bk. III., chap. v, pp. 451–465, and plates lxx to lxxxiv for the Brahmanical Caves; and Bk. IV., chap. iii, pp. 495–502, and plates lxxxvi to xcii for the Jaina Caves.

the quarter of a royal city containing the palaces of the king and his nobles does from the suburbs of the working-classes.

The Elurâ Buddhist Caves on the other hand differ in many respects from both these groups; they are on quite as large a scale as any at Ajantâ, but differ in their arrangements, and though they contain abundance of sculpture, it varies markedly both in its subjects and in details from that at Ajantâ, while the ornamentation is much less elaborate. They differ also from the Kanheri group in their vastly larger dimensions, their plans, and in the greater amount both of sculptured ornamentation and mythology, but especially in the character of the latter. Thus, while the dâgoba is a frequent object of representation in the bas-reliefs at Kanheri, it only occurs once or twice at Elurâ, and then in very small examples, and in positions by no means prominent. Nâga-hooded figures, so often represented both in the sculptures and paintings at Ajantâ, as well as at Amarâvati, Boro Budûr, Sânchî, and Bharhut, are not found here; and while both at Kanheri and Ajantâ the Buddha is represented without any supporters or only with two, at Elurâ he is most frequently attended by six, eight, or ten of the Bodhisattvas, whilst *śaktis* or *dêvîs*—later additions to the Banddha pantheon—figure much more frequently and prominently on the walls of these caves than they do at either of the two groups just named. When we compare them again with the sculptures on the *stûpas* at Sânchî, Bharhut, Amarâvati, and Boro Budûr,[1] we note still further differences, and are led to consider whether these variations may not be very largely due to the difference of sects or schools into which the Buddhists were very early divided, and whether each of the greater schools—which were probably to a large extent practically local—may not have developed much that was special to itself in its mythology or the modes of representing the beings in the pantheon. This would help to account for differences in the characteristics of the sculptures at Amarâvati, Kanheri, Elurâ, Ajantâ, and Sânchî. True, much of this variety is due to differences of age; and the lack of sculpture in the Junnar, Nâsik, and other caves, is doubtless to some extent owing to their early age; but the recent discovery of an inscription of Vasishṭhiputra Pulumâvi at Amarâvati shows that the difference between the sculptures there and at Nâsik and Kârlê, where other inscriptions of the same king are found, is due to other causes, such as we have just indicated, quite as much as to difference of age. Moreover, we learn from I-tsing, a writer of the end of the seventh century, that the Sarvâstivâdin schools were less honoured in the Marâṭha country than in Magadha, but that the Sammatîyas were particularly respected. In the south the Mahâsthavira school was universally honoured; and in Eastern India each of the four schools (Mahâsanghika, Aryasthavira, Sarvâstivâdin, and Sammatîya) had its adherents in different districts.[2] It seems, moreover, to be more than a mere surmise that the varieties in sculptures are largely owing to the various schools that constructed different stûpas or excavated special groups of caves, for, on comparing the sculptures in these Elurâ Caves with the mythology of the Yogâchârya school of the Mahâyâna, founded by Âryâsaṅga,[3] we find the agreement so marked that we may conclude they were the works

[1] See the magnificent illustrations of Boro Budûr, published by order of H. E. the Minister of the Dutch Colonies (Leide, 1874).

[2] Wells *Buddhist Literature in China*, p. 63. The Sarvâstivâdins were a branch of the Hînayâna, and were split into three schools. Most of the early schools were however always more or less intermixed in the districts of Nâgârjuni and Amarâ.

[3] He is said by Târanâtha to have lived 900 years after Buddha, and by other but not very trustworthy authorities to have been born 100 years after Nâgârjuna, perhaps early in the fourth century, Vassilief, *Buddh.*, pp. 51, 52, 66–8; Beal, *Catena*, pp. 100, 263.

of that sect. These sculptures afford abundant proof of the prevalence in India at the date of their excavation of the schools, now found only in Nepâl and to the north of it. There is, however, among the carvings that are left no trace of the impudicity so strongly developed in the Tantras of a later age.[1]

CHAPTER II.

THE BUDDHIST CAVES AT ELURÀ—THE SOUTHERN GROUP.

VERULE or Elurâ is a small village in the Nizam's territory, about twelve or fourteen miles north-west of Aurangâbâd, and is still the site of the shrine of Ghṛishṇêśvara, one of the twelve sacred *tîrthas* or *jyotirlingas* of the Hindus, of which no less than seven are in Western India, within a circle of about 400 miles in diameter,[2] passing through Somanâth in Kâthiâwâd in the west, Mahâkâl at Ujjain in the north-east, and Naganâth in the south-east. Doubtless the *tîrtha* was originally *at* the Caves, but after their desecration by Aurangzeb it lost its repute and was transferred to the village, where Ahalyabâi of Indor built a pretty temple in the latter part of last century,[3] in which the image of Ghṛishṇêśvara now is.

The caves are about half a mile east of the village, and run nearly north and south along the west face of the hill, on the top of which the village of Dowah is. As shown in the plan (plate ii), from which their general arrangement will be best understood, they extend a very little over a mile in a straight line, or nearly 2000 yards, if we follow the windings of the cliff. The caves at the south end are the Buddhist, and those at the north end the Jaina group,—while the majority of those lying between these two groups are Brahmanical. We shall take the whole in their order from south to north.

The Buddha group at the south end of this series has been described in some detail in *The Cave Temples*, and with a number of illustrations.[4] Little can be added to the account there given, without entering into a minuteness of description and a thoroughness of illustration which our space prevents. The period we have there assigned for their excavation is from A.D. 450 to 650 or 700[5]—an age which subsequent observations have only tended to confirm. The group consists of twelve different excavations, which, for convenience of reference, are numbered consecutively on the plan (plate ii) from the most southerly. The first three or four are locally known as Dhêdwâdâ or the low caste's quarter; No. V. (and sometimes Nos. V. to IX.) as Mâhârwâdâ; No. X. is well known as Viśvakarma or the carpenter's jhôpṛî; No. XI. as Dôn Thâl; and No. XII. as Tin Thâl. The Caves numbered VII. and VIII. are below the large Cave No. VI., and the very small one, No. IX., on the north west of it. The oldest in the group are Nos. I., III., and VII., which may date as far back as 450 to 550 A.D. Caves II. and V.—the Dhêdwâdâ and Ma-

[1] See for explanation, *Journal des Savants*, 1863, pp. 179-99; Burnouf, *Introd. Buddh. Ind.* (2nd ed.), pp. 485-491 (1st ed. pp. 522-29).

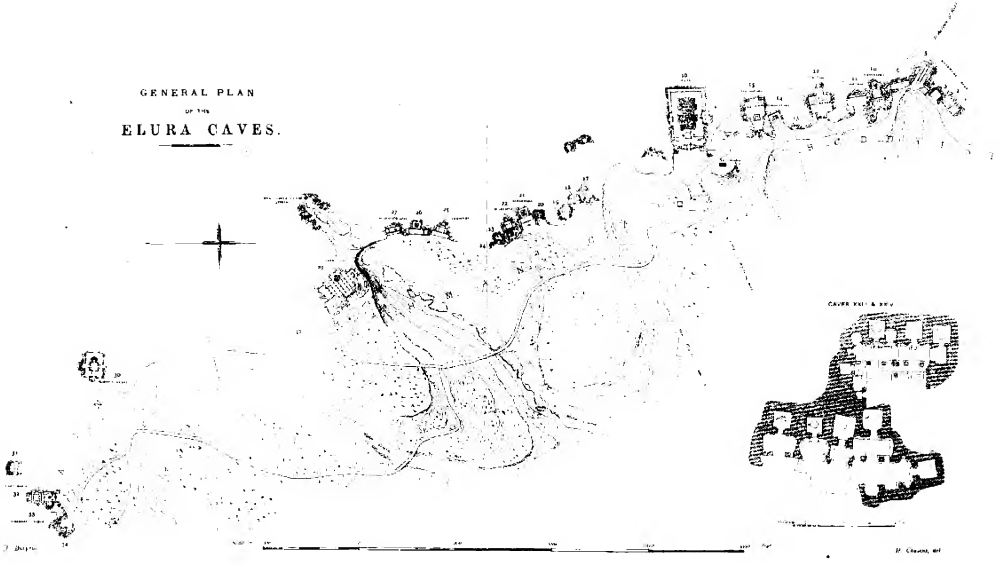
[2] Elurâ is about 130 miles south-east of the centre of this circle; and the other three *tîrthas* within it are Trimbak, near Nasik, Bhîma-śankar at the source of the Bhîmâ north west of Poona, and Oundha on the Narmada. See *Cave Temples*, p. 367.

[3] See *Archæol. Rep.* vol. iii. p. 82.

[4] Pp. 367–384, and nine plates, lvii–lxv.

[5] Compare the separate statements on pp. 371, 379, and 381, of that work.

GENERAL PLAN
OF THE
ELURA CAVES.



hârwâdâ—are on a considerably larger scale and more magnificent in their arrangements, but they seem to have been pushed in at a higher level than the adjoining Caves I., III., and VII., and were probably contemporary with the great Chaitya Cave—the Viśvakarma—which with two or three others was probably excavated during the seventh century A.D. Nos. VIII., IX., and XI. were probably even later than this, and may be considered as marking the expiring efforts of the Buddhists in Western India.

Caves Nos. I.–VI.

The first six caves have been described in some detail in *The Cave Temples* (pp. 368-375, and plates lvii to lxi). The accompanying woodcut (No. 1) presents a view of Caves

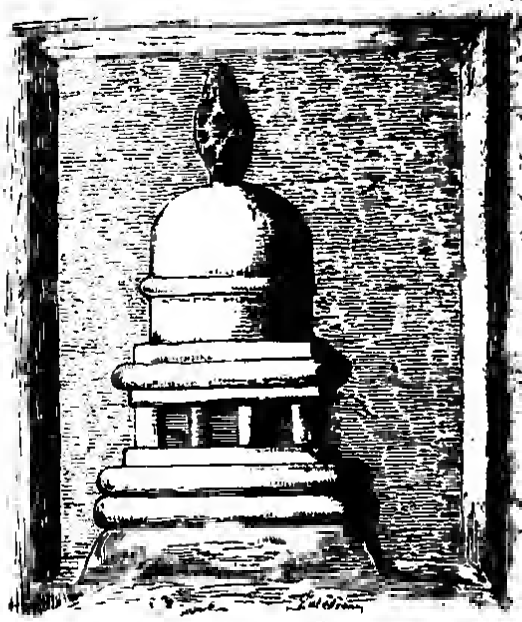
No. 1.—The Southern Bauddha Caves at Elurâ, from a photograph.

Nos. II. to V. Cave I. is hidden by the mass of debris in front of it, but it is just under the right side of Cave II., of which the door and large window to the right of it are seen near the right-hand side of the view. Cave III. is at a lower level to the left. Cave V., with the fragments of a large chapel belonging to it on the south side (of which the whole west half has fallen away), extends from over the left side of Cave III. to behind a parapet wall recently erected to afford a safe passage along the face of the scarp. The interior of Cave IV., which is very much ruined, is seen under the chapel of Cave V.

Sculptured in a large panel on the inside of the front wall of Cave No. II. is the figure represented in fig. 1 of plate xiii, where we have either Pândarâ the mother of Padmapâṇi or some other of the Târâs. Both her two attendants have flowers in their hands; and here, though somewhat abraded by time, are six *Vidyâdharas* or cherubs over the head of the goddess. In her right hand she probably held up a *mâlâ* or rosary, but it is now obliterated. Behind the head is the aureole or *bhâmaṇḍala*, which indicates that she is a celestial personage; and in her ears are large earrings of different forms. On the front of the *mukuṭa* or headdress is a dâgaba, which must be taken as her *chinha* or cognisance; and as it is also associated with Akshôbhya, the second Jñâni Buddha, we may

perhaps identify her with Lôchanî [illegible]
vajra on the lotuses which she holds in [illegible]

In the back of this cave, No. II., is [illegible]
sculptures at Elurâ. It is a small bas-relief [illegible]



No. 2.—Dâgaba on the Wall of Cave II.

[illegible] from [illegible] are in the [illegible] represented [illegible] we have [illegible] seated with [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

On the right-hand wall of this antechamber, facing the figure above described (pl. xiii, fig. 2), and close to the dwârapâla, on the right side of the door, supposed to represent Mañjuśri, is the sculpture given on plate xvi, fig. 3. The right hand of the central female figure is broken, but the attendant peacock and the pandit reading at her right, seem sufficient to point her out as Sarasvati,[1] who with the Hindus is the goddess of learning and eloquence, and with the Buddhists is one of the wives of Mañjuśri, and is perhaps the same as Lôchanâ.

On the right side of the shrine is a panel containing three figures (plate xiii, fig. 4) on lotus seats. The left one may easily be identified as Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâni, with the lotus and rosary, and the deerskin over his shoulder; also a small figure of Amitâbha Buddha on the front of his headdress. Whom the other two figures respectively represent is not so clear; the central one is very fat and holds what resembles a small book in his left hand, and some round object in his right, while his headdress is unlike any other. He has rich armlets, heavy earrings, a necklace and *jânvi* or sacred thread, as a Brahman. The third figure holds a small flower in his right hand, wears a high dress with a dâgaba on the front of it, a necklace, long ear-pendants, armlets, bracelets, and a thick cord worn as the *jânvi*. Probably this is Mañjuśri. All three have aureoles behind their heads. On the left side wall of the same room is a similar compartment, which contains first, to the right, a male figure with rich headdress, earrings, necklace, and *jânvi* on bended knees, and attended by a female *chaurî*-bearer presenting an offering. Behind him is a female figure, probably his wife, also with rich turban[2] and enormous earrings, on her knees and with her hands in the attitude of adoration. She is attended by a female dwarf, who bears a box or tray with presents, and over her head is a bird apparently placed as a sort of cognisance. Behind the female, again, bends on one knee a male figure with necklace and Brahmanical cord, holding something like a long bag or purse. Close to him is an elephant's head and fore foot, with a small figure representing the driver leaning over its brow. This must be intended to represent some wealthy family making an offering to the cave or its priests: it may be a prince with his wife and Diwan.

On each wall, above these panels, are three rows of three Buddhas each—all in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*,[3] as is also the great central figure.[4]

Caves VII. and VIII.

Plate xiv, fig. 1, gives the plans of Caves VII. and VIII., on the same scale as the Caves on plate lvii of *The Cave Temples*, of which they form the continuation on the north side, but are not marked on the general plan of the caves (plate ii) in consequence of their being under Nos. VI. and IX. Cave VII. is a vihâra, just under No. VI., which has never been finished, and is now much ruined. It is 51½ feet wide by 43½ feet deep. The roof was supported by four square pillars, but three of them are broken away. In the back wall five cells are commenced, of which only two at the right end are finished. There are also three

[1] She is a favourite with the Buddhists everywhere. In Japan she is called Benten, and in Tibet *Dsangchamma*.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx., pp. 315, 335.

[2] Observe the jewelled crescent on the left side of each turban.

[3] This *mudrâ*, so prevalent everywhere in India, is either not represented at all at Bâgh Bâdâr, or depicted in a somewhat different form.—*Bâgh Borders*, plate viii. The other *mudrâs* also differ slightly, viz., in the *Bhumisparśa*, the right hand does not come so far over the knee as in Indian images.

[4] See *Cave Temples*, plate lxi.

unfinished cells in the right end wall, and four in the left. The thresholds of the doors to these are unusually high—the first step, even in the two that are finished, being 18 to 20 inches high. Through the back wall of the first cell, in the left side, an opening has been broken into Cave No. VIII. The front wall is quite unfinished, the door in the middle only having been hewn out, and the rock being left of considerable thickness on the north side of it, through which another entrance has been made at the left corner, with a descent of two or three steps in front and a wide passage on the inner side. At the right, or south-west corner, an entrance is also broken into the hall from the foot of the stair, which there ascends to Cave VI.

The arrangements of Cave No. VIII., as described in *The Cave Temples* (p. 376), will be better understood by the plan (pl. xiv), which at once shows its resemblance to the Brahmanical Caves, such as the Râvana-kâ Khâi and Râmêśvara, and also to the Aurangâbâd Bauddha Caves,—a pretty clear indication of its late date. The two pillars in front of the shrine being of the Elephanta type, as in Cave II., is a further proof that it is one of the latest Buddhist excavations here. The other two pillars, dividing it from the outer apartment, have high square bases; the shafts have 32 flutes, and the capitals are square, with pendent ears at the corners, carved with scroll-leaf pattern. The slender columns in front of the little chapel on the north side of this room are also of the Elephanta type.

Cave IX.

This cave, if not an appendage of Cave VI., or, rather to a small cave in front of its north wing, now destroyed by the falling away of the rock (see plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. ix), is quite different from any we elsewhere meet with. It forms a sort of upper storey to the last, but consists of a mere chapel with two pillars in front,[1] and is quite in the same style, both of architecture and sculpture, as Cave VIII. Over the front pillars is a sculptured façade, the architrave or lower member being divided into compartments by divisions carved with arabesques, the compartments alternately containing a sitting and a standing Buddha, with attendants. On the frieze above are carved three Chaitya window ornaments, and at a higher level other two—each row with half ones at the ends; and in a third and shorter belt is a single one. Each of these is occupied by a figure of Buddha, and between the projecting members on which they are carved are many smaller human figures. Above, at each corner, is a Bodhisattva with female attendants.[2] One of the pillars is represented in plate xvi, fig. 4.

Inside, the chapel is about 23 feet by 10 feet, with two attached pillars on the back wall, dividing it into three compartments. The centre one contains a Buddha with four *gandharvas* above, and the side ones contain the two attendant Bodhisattvas; the right side one—probably Mañjuśrî—is represented on pl. xiii, fig. 6. The other is Avalokiteśvara, also with two female attendants, and fat *gandharvas* above.

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, p. 375.

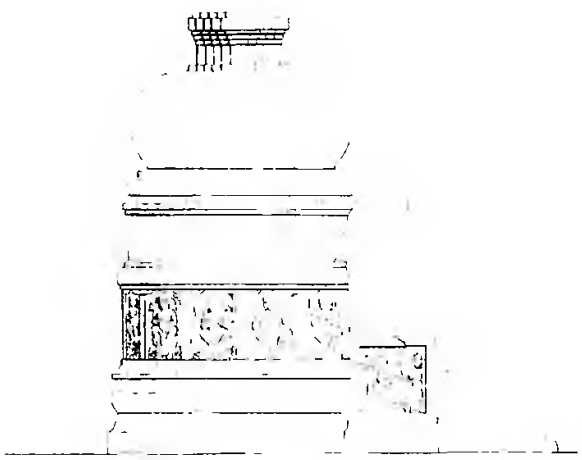
[2] Compare this with the similar façade of the left wing of the Indra Sabha.

ELURÂ.

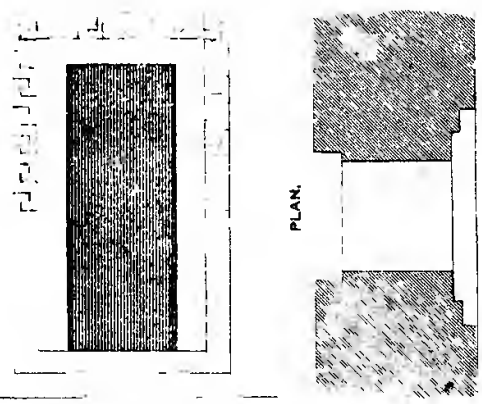
1. SECTION THROUGH THE FRONT OF VISVAKARMA CHAITYA CAVE

Scale of 5 to figs 1 & 2 feet

2 DAGOBA.



3. NORTH DOOR OF VISVAKARMA CHAITYA CAVE



Scale of feet

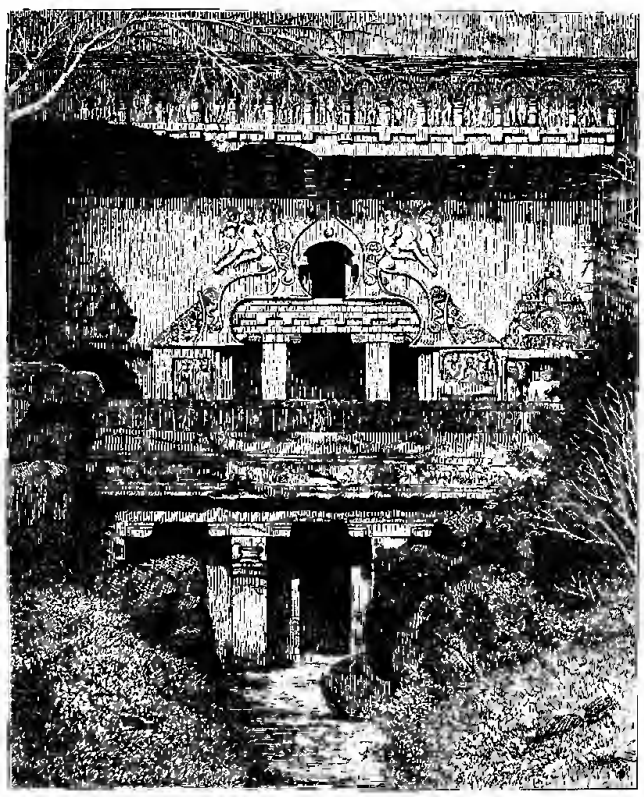
J. Burgess.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE LARGER BUDDHIST CAVES.

Viśvakarma Cave, No. X.

Cave X. is the great Chaitya rock temple, the only one of the kind at Elurâ, and locally known as Viśvakarma's, or "the Carpenter's shop." It is a splendid temple, with a fine façade and large open court in front, surrounded by a corridor, and worthily concludes the series of Buddhist Chaitya caves, which, taken altogether, are perhaps the most interesting group of buildings or caves in India. We can now trace the sequence of them from the early wood-fronted examples at Pitalkhorâ, Kondâne, and Bhâjâ, through the stone-fronted caves of Bedsâ and Karlê, to the elaborately decorated façades of the two latest at Ajaṇṭâ, till at last it loses nearly all its characteristic external features in this one at Elurâ. The earlier ones are all certainly anterior to the Christian era —some probably as early as 200 or 250 B.C. and as this one can hardly be dated before 650 A.D., the series extends in nearly unbroken continuity for about nine centuries. During this long period we can easily trace the progress from the great open front of a cave covered by an external screen, first in wood, and then in stone ornamented in wood, till subsequently we find it constructed entirely in stone with limited dimensions for the opening, and at last the great horse-shoe window was contracted into the triple Venetian window of this Viśvakarma Cave, as represented in the annexed woodcut (No. 3); and the screen in front had entirely disappeared. So altered, however, is it from the grand simplicity of the great arched window at Kârlê, that if we had not all the intermediate steps by which the changes can be followed out we should hardly be able to trace it back to its original form, or to feel sure that it was the same architectural feature.



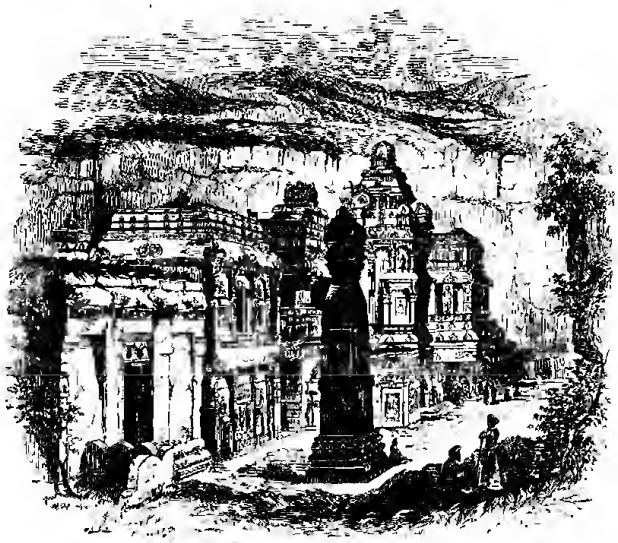
No. 3.—Façade of the Viśvakarma Cave.[1]

The interior of this temple is 85 feet 10 inches long inside, by 43 feet 2 inches wide.

[1] From Fergusson's *Ind. and East. Archit.*, p. 128.

In *The Cave Temples* are given plans of both storeys (plates lxxxi and lxxxi A) and the elevation of the south side of the temple itself. To these are now added in this volume plates iv, xxiii, fig. 1, and xxv to xxxi.

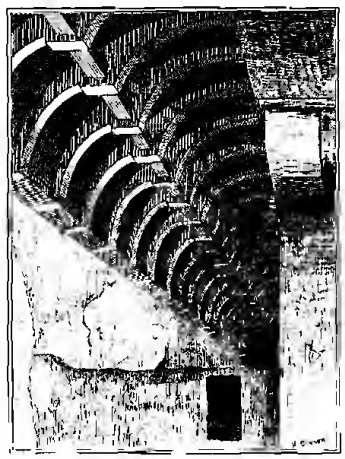
Plate xxiii, fig. 1, is a transverse section, on the same scale (20 feet to 1 inch) as the elevation (*Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxii), through the centre of the great hall, and continued north and south through the side excavations. This, together with the views in the frontispiece and the woodcut No. 13, will give a clear idea how the central fane is raised on a solid basement of rock about 27 feet high. Along the court, on each side, are seen the pillars of the colonnade and under the scarp of the rock on the east. On the north or left side, the section passes through a wider part of the colonnade below,[1] and through the hall of the Lankêśvara temple above, looking towards the door of its shrine, with its river goddesses on each side.



No. 13.—View of Kailâsa from the south west.[2]

On the right side of the great temple, it will be observed that the rock has been excavated in four storeys, none of them ever quite finished. On this side there was a bridge from the south balcony of the great hall into the second storey, but it had been cut too thin for the rock to support so long a bearing, and had broken down. These halls on the south side are not carved with much sculpture, except the one containing the female mâtrîs or demons,[3] to the south-west of the central hall, and through which this section does not pass.

The fronts of the second and third storeys are protected above by handsome drips carved in the rock, quadrantal on the outer surface, and the under side carved in imitation of ribs, with a bearing rafter running horizontally through them, in the most perfect imitation of a carefully-jointed wooden construction. As may be seen from the accompanying woodcut (No. 14), the effect of this is very pleasing.



No. 14.—Eaves of the Second Storey on the south side of Kailâsa.

[1] Marked M on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi.

[2] From a sketch by Dr. Jas. Fergusson, *Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 335.

[3] Marked E' on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi A.

and 33 feet 11 inches from the floor to the under edge of the stone ridge board. The pillars that separate the nave from the aisles are 14 feet high, and the triforium 4 feet deep. Its arrangements, however, may be best studied on the ground plan and details given in *The Cave Temples* (plates lxii and lxiii). To these are here added a longitudinal section (plate iii, fig. 1) through the front of the cave, showing the corridor on the right hand or south side of the court below—with portions of the sculptured panels on the back walls—the wide balcony over the entrance portico, and the deep gallery above the front cross aisle, which advances considerably into the cave,—differing in this respect from the earlier Chaitya temples in that the great arch, besides being altered in front and the window divided, is of much less depth than usual and than the gallery; and a transverse section (plate xvi, fig. 1).

The narrow triforium over the pillars of the nave is divided into compartments, each containing a figure of Buddha, seated with his hands in the *dharmachakra mudra*, with various groups of attendants (see plate xvii, fig. 2); and on a band below is a line of rollicking dwarfs or *gaṇa*, similar to what we find on the basements of the Bâdâmi Brahmanical caves of the sixth century, and on the Vaishnava temple at Aihole. Above this triforium the ribs of the roof spring, each from a small Nâga figure, the alternate ones being males in an attitude of adoration, and the females each holding a flower in their right hands. On the inner side of the gallery, the band of *gaṇa* is continued, but the upper and broader portion (see fig. 1) is divided into a large central and two smaller side panels, each filled with standing figures, which it is difficult to identify with any scene in the Bauddha legends.

No. 1.—Interior of the Vîrâṭeśvara Cave, from a photograph.

The pattern of the pillars is also shown in the section (plate iii, fig. 1), and one of the pair under the gallery, which are more elaborately carved, is drawn to a larger scale on plate xviii, fig. 2. At the end of the verandah that passes the entrance is a chapel, in which may be seen the central figure—that of Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi, and to the right, that of Dharma or "the law," always personified as a female, with four arms, holding a bottle, a *triśûla*, and a rosary. The figure on the other side is also a female, but with only two arms.

The side elevation of the dâgoba is given to the same scale in plate iii, fig. 2, showing the difference of its style from those of the earlier caves, and even from those of Ajaṇṭâ.[1] It is 26 feet 10 inches high, and the circular part of it is 15 feet 6 inches in diameter. The capital, no longer square as in all the early examples, is cut up by numerous offsets, like the shafts of some of the pillars in the large cave at Bâdâmi. The body of it is carved round about with alternate broad and narrow panels (plate xvii, fig. 3) containing figures of Buddha

[1] See Vol. iv, plates xv, xvii, xxxi and xxxvi.

seated with his feet on the lotus, his hands in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*, with and without attendant *chauri*-bearers. On the front of it a large mass of rock, 16 feet 10 inches high, is left as a frontispiece, and is carved with a huge image of Buddha, 10 feet 11 inches from the feet to the top of the head, seated with his hands in the favourite *dharmachakra mudrâ*, with the usual pair of Bodhisattva attendants,[1]—Avalôkitêśvara and Mañjuśrî. The accompanying woodcut, No. 4, shows the front of this dâgoba. Two pairs of *gandharvas* with offerings appear above the Buddha, on an arch the upper part of which is also carved with the *Bôdhi* tree.

The simple but elegant side-door into the left side aisle is represented to scale in fig. 3 (pl. iii). The central door has small figures in pairs all round the architrave, with Nâga guardians at the bottom on each side. Outside the architrave is the usual leaf-border.

In the balcony in front of the window is a portico on each side, with cells behind.[2] The stair lands in the one on the north side, and opposite the landing, over the door of a cell in the east end, is the same group of two males and a female, which we meet with again in the Tîn Thâl (pl. xviii, fig. 3). On the right side of this same door is a standing figure of Buddha, with two small attendants, and on the left a figure seated cross-legged, and another with the right foot down, wearing a necklace and holding a lotus. There are also numbers of figures of Buddha on the walls, some in little arched niches.

A recess on the right side of the front window contains Avalôkitêśvara, with two female attendants and *gandharvas*. His head is represented on plate xix, fig. 3; and on the frieze of this recess is a fine group of dwarfs. A similar recess on the north side contains Mañjuśrî. In the north end of the balcony is a female figure in the centre, holding a lotus, and eight figures of Buddha in line above, six figures with the lotus, and seated with one foot down, are on her left, and five on her right—one of them, a female, with four arms. On the south side is a recess in which is another statue of Avalôkitêśvara with female attendants.

No. 4.—Avalokiteśvara from the Aurangâbâd Caves.

To the west of this was a portico similar to that on the north side, which has had two pillars in front, but they have fallen away along with the roof. In the back are three cells, and one in the east end, with several seated and standing figures, also a four-armed standing figure (pl. xix, fig. 4), differing considerably from the usual ones of Bodhisattvas, but which may compared with that of Padmapâṇi, represented in the annexed woodcut (No. 5), from the Aurangâbâd Caves.[3] This Elurâ one evidently is meant for Vajrapâṇi, and it is to be observed that while he holds a *vajra* in his left hand, the end of another is represented over his head, as if emerging from it. The other symbols he holds are too much injured to be recognised. This figure is possibly an early form of Vajrapâṇi, as now represented in Tibet, in the terrific aspect of Chyag-rdor—"the subduer of evil spirits."[4]

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 379–381.

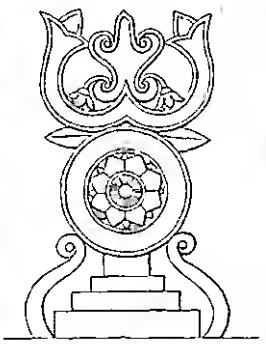
[2] See the plan of the balcony in *The Cave Temples*, plate lxii. [3] *Bâburnâmâ*, vol. iii, p. 80.

[4] Schlagentweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 114. Curiously enough, the Buddhists have got a version of the Hindu story of the churning of the ocean for the *Amṛita*, which was given in charge to Vajrapâṇi but stolen by Râhu.

Next to this is a figure of Buddha, with Padmapâṇi and Vajrapâṇi as supporters, the latter of whom holds up the *vajra* in his right hand, and has an opening flower-bud in his left. The other figures are too numerous to describe, but the sculptures here and in the Tîn Thâl alone would form a most important contribution to a Buddha pantheon. Two of the heads of female figures in this verandah are represented in figs. 1 and 2 of plate xix. These may be compared with those in other illustrations in this volume, and with the heads from Aurangâbâd caves given in volume iii, plates xlix, liii, liv, and lv.

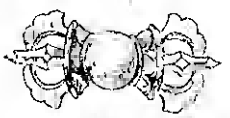
The *vajra* or fulmen is so frequently represented in the sculptures here that it seems to demand a word of explanation. In Nepâl it has become a favourite symbol of Buddhism, and is constantly sculptured about their temples. In its simplest form, with only one set of prongs, it would almost seem that possibly it may have been derived from the *triśula* symbol so frequently represented at Amarâvatî and Sânchi, and figured in the accompanying woodcuts (Nos. 6 and 7). It is usually, however, represented with two similar ends, as in the accompanying representations of sculptured *vajras*,—(No. 8) from Nepâl, and (No. 9) from China, and of the usual form found at Ellorâ (No. 10),

No. 6.—Triśula ornament from Amarâvatî.



No. 7.—Triśula symbol from Sânchi.

No. 8.—Vajra from Nepâl.

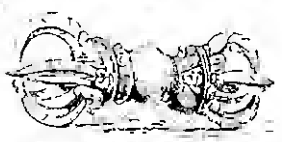


No. 9.—Vajra from China.

No. 10.—Indian vajra.

though here it is also found with only one end. It is to be remembered, however, that the *triśula* is also a Brahmanical symbol (see pl. xxx, fig. 3), and so also is the *vajra*.

But in Tibet and Nepâl a sort of double *vajra*, having a hooked prong on four sides of the central one, is often made of metal, richly moulded and gilt, and is placed on an altar or a *Dharmadhâtumaṇḍala*, in front of or inside the temples, where it is an object of worship. This is called a *Viśvavajra*, and the accompanying woodcut (No. 11) represents one of these instruments, about five feet in length, made of copper by one of the Nepâl râjas in the middle of the seventeenth century, and placed in front of the great temple of Adi-Buddha at Svayambhunâth. The *viśva* is the symbol of Amoghasiddha, the fifth Jinas Buddha, and of his Bodhisattva Viśvapâṇi.



No. 11.—Viśvavajra from Nepâl.[1]

Every lama in Tibet and every Bandya priest in Nepâl must possess a small *vajra*, which they use when repeating their prayers and at all ceremonies of importance, as at marriages, the initiation of novices, &c., and in the latter country the priests receive the title of *Vajra-Âchâryas* from the use

[1] From Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepâl*, vol. ii, p. 220.

of this instrument.[1] It is the symbol of Akshobhya, the second Jñâni Buddha, and of his Bodhisattva, Vajrapâni.[2]

In this balcony there remains to be noticed the only inscription at all of an early date found among the Buddha caves here; but it is only the *mantra* of the Mahâyâna school, carved in characters of perhaps the eighth or ninth century, probably about the time when the figures over which it is found were inserted (see pl. xviii, No. 1). It reads—

Yê dharma hêtu prabhavâ hêtuṁ, têshâṁ tathâgato, hyavadattêshâṁ cha yô ni-
rôdha, évaṁ vâdi mahâśramaṇa[ḥ]

"All things proceed from cause; this cause has been declared by the Tathâgata; all things will cease to exist; this is that which is declared by the great Śramana (Buddha)."

Though to this mantra is ascribed the conversion of Maudgalyâyana and Śâriputtra, the two chief disciples of Buddha, it probably owes its origin to some of the early Mahâyâna teachers. It was found on a stone slab and on several clay seals at Sarnâth, near Banâras, and on a copperplate in the *stûpa* excavated by Dr. Bird at Kanheri, on numerous clay seals discovered at the same place by Mr. West in 1853, and the first part of it is given in a short inscription cut into the square body of a dâgoba in bas-relief on the right hand side wall in the court of the great Chaitya cave.[3] This celebrated philosophical formula has also been found in inscriptions from Afghanistan, Tirhut, Burma, Singhapur, and Java, and is well known in the Buddha literature of Nepâl, Tibet, China, and Ceylon.

The Don Thâl Cave, No. XI.

The next cave is the Don Thâl, so called because it was long supposed to consist of only two storeys. In 1876, however, the lower storey was excavated of the earth which had completely buried it. The plans of all three floors are given in plate xv, from which it will be observed that the upper storey has been carried farthest into the rock, though apparently it never was nearly completed. It may be doubtful whether it was originally intended to form cells in the blocks left at the back of the verandah, but several cells have just been commenced in the walls, whether for residence or small chapels is not quite clear. The second storey consists only of a verandah with eight massive square pillars in front, a small shrine at one end, and three larger ones in the back, the central one (otherwise the smaller) having a room in front with two square pillars. The larger shrines on each side

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[1] Huc's *Travels in Tartary*, &c., vol. ii, p. 221; Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, vol. ii, p. 201; Hodgson's *Essays*, pp. 41, 63.

[2] This was the case even in Fahi-hien's time who speaks of it as "the golden mace"—Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 94; and conf. Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.*, tome i, pp. 340, 134, 319; ii, 114.

[3] The following are the principal references on this formula:—*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv, pp. 133, 211, 286, 713; vol. v, pp. 157, 118, 658; vol. x, p. 93; vol. xvi, p. 78, and plate i; vol. xviii, pl. i, p. 217, and plate x; *Journ. Ibis*, vol. v, p. 131; vol. xx, p. 42, or Feer's French translation in *Ann. Mus. Guimet*, tome ii, p. 151; Hodgson's *Essays*, 1st ed. p. 158, or 2nd ed. p. 111; Hardy's *Man. of Budh.*, 2nd ed. p. 201 (1st ed. p. 196); Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 51; Bird's *Historical Researches*, p. 61; Crawfurd's *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii, p. 212 and plate 31, which strongly resembles this Elurâ example in the character of the alphabet; Schlagentweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 15, or French transl. p. 13; Beal's *Romantic Legend*, p. 329, and Wang Puh's *Memorial of Śâkya Buddha* in *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx, p. 166; Burnouf's *Intr. à l'Hist. du Bouddh. Ind.*, 2nd ed. p. 508 note (1st ed. p. 345); and *Lotus*, pp. 522–526; Kern, *Hist. du Boudd. in Ind. et l'Hist. des Rois*, tome v, p. 149; Sykes, in *J. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi, pp. 37–55, and plates i–iii; West, *Journ. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 158, 159, and plates v and vii i–d.

[4] *Journ. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, p. 1, No. 8.

contain colossal figures of Buddha seated cross-legged with the soles of his feet turned up, but here, as in the Tín Thál also, each side of the chamber is carved with tall attendant Bodhisattvas, which will be more particularly noticed below. The ground-floor consists of a verandah about 89 feet in length by 6½ wide, and 8 feet 4 inches high, with seven square pillars in front, though it was intended to add an eighth at the left end. In the back wall of this verandah are three rooms or shrines, two of them quite unfinished, but the central one, containing a cross-legged image of Buddha with Padmapáni and Vajrapáni as attendants, one on each side.

The court in front is about 102 feet wide by 45 deep, with an approach on the west about 50 feet wide. In the left, or north-west corner of this court, is a large irregular room with a bench round the inner walls of it, and beside it is a chapel containing two images and attendants—that on the back or north side being Avalókitêśvara seated on a *sinhâsana* or lion-throne, with a female figure seated cross-legged on each side of him—the one on the left having four arms. Above, on each side, are seated figures. To the left is another four-armed *dêvi*—probably Dharma—with a rosary (*mâlâ*) and a flower. On the right side of the room is a headless figure of Buddha, behind whom stand two Bódhisattvas, and at the sides *chauri*-bearers. There are also other figures on the walls.

On the right side of the entrance to the court is a smaller, rudely cut chamber, and there are some others quite filled up with earth.

The verandah of the first floor above is 102½ feet long by 9 feet wide and 10 feet 3 inches high, with three shrines in the back, and two cells—one of them only begun. There is also a fourth shrine at the south end, having an arched door. This last contains a figure of Buddha, seated cross-legged on a high square block; above his shoulders are two *gandharvas* or Bauddha cherubs, while Avalókitêśvara or Padmapáni[1] and Mañjuśri or Vajrapáni[2] attend him as *chauri*-bearers. By the side of the latter stand three male figures with

[1] Avalókitêśvara, Padmapáni, or Karunárnava—in Tibetan sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbang-phyug (pronounced Chenresi-vanchug)—is the "on-looking lord," called also Abhayamúlada—"the remover of fear," Abhyantaráraja—"the great august king," and in China Kwan-yin. He was apparently unknown till about the third century, but is mentioned as a hearer in the *Saddharmapundarika Sútra* (cir 300 A.D.), of which Mañjusri is the mythical author. Avalókitêśvara is held in special reverence in Tibet as the protector of the country; and the Dalai-Lamas are regarded as his successive incarnations.—See *Reports*, vol iii pp 75, 76; Beal's *Fah-kwo*, p 60; *Ind Ant*, vol viii, pp 249–258; *Gore Temples*, p 357, &c

[2] Vajrapáni is one of the names of Sakra or Indra, the god of thunder, who with his bolt (*vajra*) slays the enemies of Buddhism, and, in Nepál, is the Jñáni Bódhisattva of Akshóbhya. He is represented in a blue robe, and is called in Tibet Lagna-rdo-rje or Phyag-na-rdo-rje. Hodgson calls him "the son of Vajrasattva Buddha," who is the Magnus Apollo of the Tantrikas (*Essays*, 2nd ed pp 15 and 17, note; or, 1st ed pp 23 and 25, n.) The Yogáchára school make Vajrapáni identical with Mañjusri, but in China they seem to be regarded as distinct personages, called respectively Chi-kin-kang-shin and Miao-kih-sing or Wen-shu. In all the Northern schools, however, Mañjusri is ranked along with Avalokitêśvara, conf. Vassilief, p. 125; Burnouf, *Introd*, pp. 100, 101. Ghantá-hú is the proper Bodhisattva of Vajrasattva (Hodgson, *Essays*, p 94). In China, the place to the left of Buddha is often occupied by Ta-shi-chi-p'u-sa or Mahâsthámaprápta, who properly belongs to the retinue of Amitábha, the favourite Jñáni Buddha. It is apparently doubtful whom he represents; Schott says Maudgalyáyana, but we find in some of their temples groups consisting of Dípankara, Avalókitêśvara, Samantabhadra, Mañjusri, Sáriputra, Mahásthámaprápta, *and* Maudgalyáyana (Tête-bêche). Maudgalyáyana, however, was "the disciple of the left hand," and this agrees with the position assigned to Mahá-sthámaprápta in China, and that given to Vajrapáni in India. Sáriputra, as the representative of complete esoteric wisdom, might be supposed to be the proper analogue of Mañjusri; and Maudgalyáyana—pre-eminent for the force of divine faculties—as that of Avalókitêśvara. Neither Mahásthámaprápta nor Samantabhadra are mentioned by Hiwen Thsang. As the former is represented with a small chaitya or dágaba on his forehead to contain the relic (*Gorina*) of Buddha, and a *vajra*, he is probably the same as the Vajrapáni of the caves. He is called Seisi in Japan; and Samantabhadra is called Fugen

high headdresses and aureoles behind their heads, and opposite to them are three females or Dêvîs—one bearing a flower-stalk. These are, doubtless, the Târâs or female counterparts (*bodhisattwasamuchchayâs*) of the Bodhisattvas. Close to this, in the back of the verandah, is a door into a cell with a low broad bench or bed on the right side. Next to this is a shrine, with Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne, with four armed dwarfs at the corners, his hands in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*,[1] that is, the left lying open in the lap and the right over the knee, with the back turned outwards. A small half figure of a female, in front of the throne and towards Buddha's right, holds up a jar. This is probably intended to represent Sujâtâ,[2] the daughter of Senâni, who offered boiled milk to Gautama, just before he became a Buddha.

The *chauri*-bearers are, as usual here, the two Bodhisattvas, the *vajra* or bolt of the left one being supported on a flower by his side. On the same side are also three other standing figures, the first with a flower, the second with a large round bud, and the third with a pennon. Opposite these last are other three—the last with a long straight sword. A pair of *gandharvas* appear over each shoulder of the Buddha, and on the side walls over the Bodhisattvas are six Buddhas seated cross-legged on two shelves. To the north of the door into this shrine, a little figure kneels in an arched recess.

The central door leads into a room about 30 feet wide by 20 feet deep, and 8 feet 9 inches high, with two square pillars in the middle, and partially lighted by an opening in the wall on each side of the door. In the shrine behind it, 13 feet wide and 8 feet 9 inches high, is an image of Buddha on a *simhâsana*, in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, with the usual Bodhisattvas as attendants—Vajrapâni holding the thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand.

The shrine door to the left of this has mouldings round it, and lions carved at the foot of the jambs on the step. The sculpture inside is very similar to that on the other side of the principal shrine, but with the addition of a fat male figure on the front wall to the left of the entrance, and a female on the right.

On the verandah wall, between this and the door into an unfinished cell, is a figure of Dharma—that might be mistaken for Lakshmî—four-armed, with water-pot, lotus, and rosary,—also two other female figures.

A stair in the rock leads up to the third storey, which has a hall 101 feet long, by 21 feet deep and 9 feet 7 inches high, but badly lighted on account of two large blocks left on each side the vestibule leading into it from the verandah. All the light admitted comes through this vestibule 30 feet wide and 15 feet deep, and through a narrow door and passage at each end. In the hall is one row of eight square pillars running from end to end. The pillars of the verandah have very thin plain brackets, and but little ornament on their square shafts (pl. xvi, fig. 5). Outside them is a low parapet wall. Inside, the pillars are perfectly plain. At the south end of the verandah is an empty cell, and in the inner walls are three slight cuttings, the beginnings of cells. In the middle of the back wall is an ante-chamber with two square pillars in front, and through it is the shrine containing a

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[1] Also called the *dharmachakra mudrâ*; the fingers of the right hand usually touch the seat.

[2] Sujâtâ = Eugenia; for the story, see Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama* (3rd ed.), vol. i, p. 82; S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 170; Beal's *Fo-shu*, p. 121, and *Romantic Legend*, p. 194, where Sujâta's father is called Nandika. In the *Lalita Vistara*, as in some of the other versions, there are two sisters, Tripushi and Bhallika, who prepare the milk for him; in other accounts they are called Nandi and Nandabala, daughters of Sujâta, the lord of the village. E. Arnold, in his *Light of Asia*, quite alters the legend.

seated Buddha in the teaching attitude, with Avalokitêśvara or Padmapâni and Mañjuśri or Vajrapâni only as attendants. At the north end of the hall is another shrine, with a Buddha squatted on a throne and attendants. On the walls of this cave are many small figures of Buddha, a Padmapâni with four arms, figures seated on lotuses, in the *lalitâsana mudrâ*, with one foot under them and the other on the ground—both male and female. Figures of Mahiśâsuri and Ganapati on the south wall are evidently of late date.

Cave XII.—The Tin Thâl.

The twelfth and last of the series of Bauddha caves here is the Tin Thâl or three-storeyed cave-temple, adapted for worship rather than as a monastery. This is, of its class, one of the most important and interesting caves at Elurâ. In no other series do we find a three-storeyed vihâra carried out with the same consistency of design and the like magnificence as in this example, and from these circumstances there is a grandeur and propriety in its appearance that it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture. The greatest interest, however, lies in its being a transitional example between the styles of the two great religions which divide between them the principal examples of the architectural magnificence of the place. On comparing it with the Dâs Avatâra Cave, that all but immediately succeeds, it seems almost as if the builders of this cave had been persuaded to change their faith and by gentle means to adopt the new religion, and not that they had been converted by persecution, as has been very generally supposed. So gently, indeed, does the change seem to take place, that we can hardly detect it in the architecture, though the sculptures announce it with sufficient distinctness. But the mode in which sculpture is substituted in the upper storey of this cave for the arrangement of cells in the older and genuine vihâras, shows that a change was creeping over the form of the religion long before it pronounced itself by the acceptance and adoration of the new gods.

The inner portion of the court is 107 feet wide by about 46 deep, but just inside the entrance an area of 46 feet by 19 feet has to be added to this. On the right side of this latter is a stair leading up to the top of the front wall of the court.

The lower hall, which is open in front, measures about 116 feet by 42 feet and is 11 feet high, the roof being supported by twenty-four square pillars in three rows, with pilasters along the back wall. In the left or north end wall are three cells, each with a stone bench in it, and in the south end are two cells and an open apartment forming a lobby to the stair leading up to the first floor. In the back wall are also four cells, two near each end, and in the middle is a large antechamber to the shrine, 37 feet wide and 40 feet deep, with two square pillars in front, and four more supporting the roof, with corresponding pilasters on each side wall, having a cell on each side between the first and second pilasters.

Between the two pilasters, on the back wall of the hall to the left of the antechamber, is a large compartment carved in nine square panels (plate xix, fig. 6), each sculptured with a different figure. Buddha himself occupies the centre with Avalôkitêśvara on his right hand and Vajrapâni or Mañjuśri on his left. The figure in the middle of the upper row has a sword supported on a lotus flower—a symbol borne by different Lôkêśvaras, such as Mañjuśri, Simhanâtha, and Mahâsthâmaprâpta; possibly it may be the last of these. The figures on each side of him have branches of different sorts, and those in the lower corners have a pennon and a book similarly upheld, while the middle one has a closed

lotus bud.[1] Which of the Bódhisattvas each of these is we can hardly say, but the corner four may perhaps be Ratnapáni, Ghaṇṭápáni, Maitréya, and Samantabhadra; or the six above and below may be analogous to a group sometimes met with in China; including Sáriputtra and Maudgalyáyana (the two *agraśrávakas*), Samantabhadra, Ánanda, Kásyapa (the *Árya Sthavira*), and Ráhula (Gautama's son).[2] But it is not improbable that such designations as Vajrapáni, Padmapáni, Mahásthámaprápta, Kshitigarbha, Ghaṇṭápáni, &c., were first given for obvious reasons to figures of the favourite disciples of Buddha, and that afterwards the original names dropped out of use, and the epithets became designations of Bódhisattvas—a class of beings not recognised by the schools of the Hínayána. But whatever be their names, they correspond with the standing figures we meet with so frequently in the shrines at Elurá, arranged side by side along either wall.

In a corresponding area to the south of the antechamber has been a figure of Buddha seated cross-legged with Avalókitéśvara and Mañjuśrí[3] as attendants, but this sculpture is very much destroyed.

On all the pilasters of the antechamber figures have been sculptured; in three cases Buddha occupies the upper part of the area with the usual Bódhisattva attendants; and below, on one, is a female, Tárá, with the lotus; on another, Buddha alone; on a third, the same with attendants; on a fourth, another female; and on a fifth, Buddha with a four-armed *dévi*—perhaps Dharma (repeated thrice below) having an elongated object in her lap and a sort of sceptre in one of her left hands.

In recesses on the right are large figures of Buddha cross-legged on *siṁhásanas*, with attendants having flowers of different sorts in their hands. On each side of the shrine door are seated fat guardian figures, each holding a flower stalk; that on the right (south) side has a book laid over the opening bud, and hence may represent Mañjuśrí.[4]

On the wall of the small lobby from which the stair ascends, the sculpture of nine panels is repeated, but is much defaced; there is also above it a Buddha between two *chauri*-bearers, one with a flower and the other with a bud covered by a book, to his right a female holding a flower-stalk, and to the left a four-armed Dévi with a rosary and bottle or goglet.

Ascending the stair, at the turning we enter a small room about 23 feet by 15, with two pillars in front, looking into the court, on the back wall of which is carved a large cross-

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[1] Mr. Beal suggests that this may be Kshitigarbha, the Ti-tsang p'usa of the Chinese; see Vaishéli, pp. 170, 175.

[2] In China Ánanda and Kásyapa often stand next to Buddha in the shrines, and with Mañjuśrí, Samanta-bhadra, Sáriputtra, and Maudgalyáyana, form a group of six; but in China and Japan, Buddha has sometimes Mañjuśrí on his left mounted on a lion, and Samantabhadra on an elephant at his right.—Fulkuse, *Rel. in China*, p. 229, and Jam. *du Mus. Guimet*, tome iv, p. 276, and pl. xvi, p. 110. In Ceylon the usual attendant figures are Mogallano and Sariputto (the two *agraśrávakas*), Rihula, Ánando, and Kassapo.

[3] Mañjuśrí appears under many names, as Mañjunátha, Mahámati, Kumárarája, Khaḍgin, Vajradhara, Vádirája, Śárdúlavikrama, Siṁhakéli, &c., and sometimes bears a sword in his right hand, and a book on a lotus flower in the left. He is the apotheosis of transcendental wisdom, as Avalókitéśvara is of mercy. He has two wives, Sarasvatí and Lakshmí, and in China is regarded as presiding over air [wind]. He is the patron of eloquence and spiritual son of Śákya. The worship of Mañjuśrí and Avalókitéśvara seems to have come into vogue in India before the time of Fah-hian (A.D. 400). He is regarded as the special protector of Nepál, and the Emperor of China is styled his incarnation.—Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 60; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi, p. 204; Csoma, *Tibet. Gram.*, p. 182 ff.; *As. Res.*, vol. xvi, pp. 459–473; *Journ. As. Soc. Ben.*, vol. xii, pt. i, pp. 102, 104–408; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 498 ff.

[4] The shrine has been fully described in *The Cave Temples*, p. 382.

legged Buddha seated on a *simhâsana*, with Gandharvas above him and the two favourite Bódhisattvas as *chauri*-bearers. To the right and left of this are the nine panels again repeated, and over that to the right are three arched compartments containing figures of four-armed goddesses similar to those representing Dharma and Sangha in the mythology of the northern Buddhists, the second with lotus bud and attendants, and the third with perhaps a bottle and *shankh* or conch shell. On the east wall is a four-armed Dêvî with something like a dish filled with fruit or food in one of her left hands on her lap, and holding a lotus, &c. Then Buddha and attendants; and again two figures of the four-armed goddess, her two front hands laid on her knees; and lastly, Buddha with attendants.

On the west wall is Padmapâni seated with one leg tucked under him and his hands on his knees (plate xviii. fig. 3). To his left is a goddess, probably Târâ or Prajñâ, with a dâgaba on the front of her headdress, and with the right foot down over the *padmâsana* or lotus seat, and the left doubled up on it (*lalitâsana mudrâ*). Her right hand lies over her knee with the palm turned outwards (*vardha* or *vara mudrâ*), the attitude of bestowal, and the left holds the stalk of a flower. On the other side is a fat figure with the right foot raised upon the seat, and a bud at his elbow.[1] Outside this compartment to the left are two females in the attitude of supplication, and above them a male figure with a flower-stalk—the usual badge of a Bódhisattva.

Ascending the other half of the stair, we land in a small room at the south end of the verandah of the second storey, which is on the same plan as the upper floor of the last cave, but with a larger hall (pl. xiv, fig. 2). The verandah is 116 feet long by 11 feet wide and 12 feet 2 inches high, with eight square pillars in front, and with a small room at each end, forming at the south the landing for the stair from the ground floor, and at the north the entrance to the stair ascending to the upper floor. From each of these a still smaller apartment opens; that at the south, a small cell with a stone bench; the other, a recess, with an image of Buddha seated with the wheel-emblem between his feet, his hands in the *dharmachakra* or teaching *mudrâ*, and in front, on the ground, two deer. Padmapâni and Vajrapâni, with *chauris*, stand on each side, coarsely executed. On the wall, opposite the foot of the stair, are Padmapâni and two female figures, and, above them, a dâgaba, a Buddha, and a male and female, each with flower stalks.

The hall lies back from the verandah, and is entered through a vestibule about 36 feet wide by 18 feet deep, with two square pillars in front and back, and also by side doors at the ends of the verandah. In each of the large blocks of rock left two cells are carved, facing the hall, which is 118 feet from north to south, by about 34 feet deep and 11 feet 5 inches high, divided into three aisles by rows of eight square pillars each—two of them partly hewn away. In each end of this hall, including the passage from the end door, are four cells; and in the back wall are five more. The antechamber to the shrine is 36 feet wide, with two pillars in front.

In the north end of the vestibule of the hall is a large sculpture of Avalókitêsvara seated between two females (Lóchanî[2] and Târâ), the one on his left hand having a bottle

[1] This is apparently one of the Triads of which the Buddhist sects have so many, in one of the chief of which Padmapâni is identified with the Sangha, the other two being Buddha and Prajñâ who represents the Dharma. It is in connection with this Triad that the Northern Buddhists have the famous mantra,—

Om sarva vidya hoûn | Om Prajñâye hoûn | Om mani padme hoûn;

[2] She occupies a high place in the Mahâyâna mythology, and is represented as the second constituent of the *Trikaya* or "three fold body," or that endued with the *sambhôgakâya* of absolute completeness, and the equivalent or counterpart of the *Sangha* in the *Tricratna*. In Nepál she is the *Sakti* of Akshôbhya.

before her; the other had a flower-stalk by her side. On the pilaster to the left are a squatting figure of Buddha, two male figures, and four females, with different flowers. On that to the right is a dâgaba and flag, a squatting Buddha, and a Bodhisattva with a flower. Behind this is a repetition of the sculpture with the nine figures, only here Buddha is in the centre of the upper row. On the south end is a repetition of the sculpture on a smaller scale, but with two *Dêvîs* on each side.

On the north pilaster of the antechamber to the shrine is carved a dâgaba, with a Buddha on the front of it; below it a squatting Buddha, and still lower a Dêvi with a flower branch. The shrine door is plain, but has large figures of Padmapâni with his lotus and rosary, and Vajrapâni with his *fulmen*, as guardians.

The shrine itself is about 22 feet wide, 19 feet deep, and 13 feet 8 inches high. It contains an enormous image of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *bhûmisparśa mûdrâ*, with the left hand in the lap and the right lying over the knee. In front of the low *padmâsana* or *Bôdhimanda*, on which he is seated, is a female (Sujâtâ?) holding up a jar, and to the left is another standing over a prostrate human figure. Against each side wall stand five tall Bôdhisattvas. On the right side are (1.) Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâni as *chauri*-bearer (*châmarika*); (2.) a figure with a bud in his right hand; (3.) another with a sword; (4.) a fourth with his hand raised; and (5.) one with a lotus flower; and on the front wall on a high seat squats a female holding a flower-stalk. On the left side, as in the upper shrine represented in plate xx, fig. 1, are (1.) Vajrapâni, with the *vajra* on the top of the flower-stalk; (2.) the second with an opening flower, and holding some small object in his right hand; (3.) with a full-blown flower and a small object; (4.) with a flag and small object; and (5.) with only a bud in the right hand. On the front wall is a stout male, with a round object in the right and a long curling one in the left hand. This is probably the excavator of the cave. On shelves above are seven Buddhas on each side seated cross-legged.

On the jamb of a window that lights the stair ascending to the upper storey is a small figure on horseback with two attendants, and above is a female with a flower.

The upper floor of the Tin Thâl is by far the most splendid hall among the Buddha Caves of India. It measures 115 feet in length by 64 deep from the inside of the first row of pillars, and 12 feet 2½ inches high, the roof being supported by forty square pillars in five rows, inclusive of the front one. At the back also it has an open antechamber 37½ feet wide, the front divided by two pillars, and 16½ feet deep. Unlike the monastic halls of the Ajantâ vihâras, this has no cells for residents. Five recesses in the south and four in the north end wall contain nine colossal images of Buddhas[1] with their attendants, but unfortunately all the sculptures have been more or less broken, scarcely a figure being left entire in this splendid cave.

Along the back wall of the hall are fourteen large cross-legged figures of Buddhas, seven on the north, and as many to the south of entrance of the antechamber to the shrine. Those on the north side have each his hands in his lap—in the *Jñâna mudrâ*, aureoles behind their heads, and trees rising from behind them, with foliage carefully varied in each case. These must represent the supposed seven last Buddhas, viz. (1.) Vipaśyî; (2.) Śikhî; (3.) Viśvabhû; (4.) Krakuchchhanda; (5.) Kanaka Muni; (6.) Kaśyapa; and (7.) Śâkya Sinha, whose *Bodhivrikshas* or sacred trees, according to Mahanâma in his

[1] Possibly Dîpankara, Ratnagiri, Vipaśyi, Śikhi, Viśvabhû, Krakuchchhanda, Kanaka Muni, Kaśyapa, and Śâkya Sinha.

Tika on the *Mahâvanso*,[1] were respectively (1.) the Pâṭali or trumpet-flower, *Bignonia suaveolens*; (2.) the Pundarika, a fragrant kind of mango; (3.) the Śâla, *Shorea robusta*; (4.) the Śirisha, *Acacia sirisa*; (5.) the Udumbara, *Ficus glomerata*; (6.) the Nyagrôdha, *Ficus Indica*; and (7.) the Pippala or Aśvattha, *Ficus religiosa*. Corresponding to these, on the southern portion of the wall, are other seven very similar figures, all in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*, or having the hands in the teaching attitude. From the nimbus behind each head springs a circular flower forming the centre of the underpart of an umbrella (*chhatra*), with a *gandharva* at each side supporting it and carrying a gift. If these, as is probable, are different from the seven to the north of them, I would venture to suggest that they may be the divine Buddhas—Vairôchana,[2] Akshôbhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha, Amôghasiddha, Vajrasatwa and Vajrarâja; but they may really be only the Mânushiya Buddhas differently arranged.

The researches of modern scholars have done much to illustrate the ethical system of the Bauddha doctors, and to acquaint us with the legends that fill their works, but so little attention has as yet been devoted to the practical creed and mythology of the common people, and the liturgical ceremonies of the worship that was daily practised in their temples, that in the whole round of the literature on Buddhism published within the last fifty years,[3] we have but little to help us in identifying the sculptures on the walls of these Bauddha Cave Temples, though representing the beings that the great mass of Buddhists were most taught to reverence, and which occupied their minds far more than the subtle distinction between the heinousness of a *pârâjikâ* and a *dukkata* sin, or the contents and meaning of the *suttas*. The result of this is, that Western opinions of Buddhism, founded on the abridged legends of an idealised Buddha and the moral maxims of Buddhist philosophers, is one-sided and very defective. Special and detailed researches have still to be made into the progressive developments of Buddhism and Bauddha ritual, and for these there doubtless exist abundant materials in the Sanskrit works found in Nepâl, and in the translations of China and Tibet, as well as in the ceremonials still in vogue in these countries. For though Buddhism began with a purely ethical theory, and, as an atheistic system must do, it made little at all of worship—yet in course of time, as the cave sculptures testify, it began to develop a mythology which went on increasing, until, in all countries where the Mahâyâna schools prevailed, Buddhism became one of the most fantastic and grossly idolatrous religious systems in the world. The earlier elements of their pantheon are represented in the Cave Temples of Kanheri, Ajaṇṭâ, Aurangâbâd, Bhâjâ, and Ellorâ; its later developments are described in the great *Sûtras* of Northern Buddhism, most of which are as yet inaccessible except to a very few Sanskrit scholars. Indian Buddhism, as we learn from the records of the early Chinese pilgrims and the cave sculptures, was to a very large extent of the Mahâyâna form, and it is only from the literature of the schools of that sect we can hope to learn much about it.[4]

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[1] Turnour's *Mahawanso*, Int. p. xxxiii, xxxiv; conf. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 113, 114, and plates xxix, xxx.

[2] Vair'chana is the sun, and also the counterpart of *Dharma* in the *Trividha*, as representing the essence of Buddha and Dharma.

[3] The works of Burnouf, Koppen, Hodgson, and the fragment published by Vassilief in 1859, are the best we have on this branch of the subject, and even these only treat of it incidentally.

[4] It is much to be regretted that the valuable collection of drawings presented by Mr. B. H. Hodgson to the French Institute in 1863 have not been published. His papers and illustrations in the *Trans. R. A. S.*, vol. ii, and *Jour. R. As. S.*, vol. xviii, are most valuable, but we need many more details to illustrate satisfactorily the pantheon of the Buddhists.

On each end wall of the antechamber leading to the shrine are three Dêvis—the inner one on each side with four arms, and holding a rosary and crooked rod—perhaps Dharma as Prajñâpâramitâ. The others have only two arms each; all are seated, on open lotus flowers on raised thrones, have high crowns or tiaras and aureoles, and the left hand is raised, the fingers extended, and with the tips of the forefinger and thumb each holds the stalk of a lotus or similar flower; the right hand on the knee holds another stalk, and all have bracelets formed of many rings, and necklaces. Three other figures on each side the shrine door cover the back wall. Each has her left foot tucked up before or under her, and the right down upon a lotus flower, or in the *lalitâsana mudrâ*. The thrones are supported by Nâgas, &c. One of these figures, to the left of the shrine door (plate xix, fig 5), has an upright *vajra* supported on the flower she holds, and as this identifies her as Lôchani, the *Buddhiśakti* of Akshobhya, we may regard the other four on one side the room as her associated goddesses,—Vajradhatêśvari, Mâmukhi, Pândarâ, and Târâ.[1] The other five, if different, must then be the five Târâs—Śitâ-târâ, Ugrâ-târâ, Ratnâ-târâ, Bhṛikuṭi-târâ, and Viśvâ-târâ.[2] Above those are four Buddhas on the back wall, on each side the door, and five on each end wall.

The shrine door is plain with bold mouldings and but little carving. The *dwârapâlas* have very high caps, and stand with their arms crossed, and by the door jambs are small couchant lions.

The shrine is 21 feet wide, about 24 feet deep, and 14 feet 4 inches high, and the large Buddha is fully 11 feet high, and from knee to knee is 9 feet, while his feet measure 2 feet 6 inches in length. He is seated cross-legged in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, or that in which he attained Buddhahood, with the left hand in the lap and the right over the knee, pointing to the ground.

His nose and lips have been broken off by the Musalmans, but are supplied in plaster, and the whole figure is frequently whitewashed. Round the seat and image is a dark passage by which it may be circumambulated. On the floor against the front of the throne are the two female figures already noticed as found in the same position in other shrines.

On the sides of the shrine are five tall standing figures of Bôdhisattvas against each wall. On the left side are (1.) Padmapâni with a *châmara*, his face destroyed but restored with plaster, as Hanuman's; (2.) a Bôdhisattva with a flower bud; (3.) another (perhaps Viśvapâni) with a long sword in the left hand, and a bud or small fly-flap in the right; (4.) the next has a peat-shaped object, and a similar small *chauri*; and (5.) the last has some object not recognisable in his left, and a similar bud or small fly-flap in the right.

The sculpture on the left wall is represented on plate xx, fig. 1. Here on the upper part of the wall are five figures of Buddha, all in the *Jñâna mudrâ* or attitude of meditation. Below on the left and next to the great image of the shrine is Vajrapâni acting as *châmara*-bearer to the Buddha, and easily recognised by his very rich headdress, necklaces, jewelled belt, armlets, &c., as well as by the *vajra* or fulmen, supported on a half-opened bud which rises over his left arm. To his left are other four smaller figures—though all much larger than life size—each holding some symbol by which he might be recognised. Thus, the next carries a book, and is perhaps Samantabhadra, the third and fifth hold buds in their left hands, and perhaps some sort of fruit in the right, and the fourth has a small flag or pennon; all stand on lotus flowers, and have very rich headdresses, which vary,

[1] These are respectively the *Śaktis* of Vairôchana, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha, and Amoghasiddha.

[2] These are the wives or *śaktis* of Samantabhadra, Vajrapâni, Ratnapâni, Padmapâni, and Viśvapâni respectively, but even their names are scarcely to be found in any Sanskrit dictionary.

however, in minute details. On the front wall is a seated male figure with an object like a purse on his left knee, and something like money in his right hand; below him is a *Lamaṇḍalu* or water-jar, with flowers growing out of it; on the other side of the door is a female figure squatting and holding a bird. On the walls above are Buddhas seated cross-legged, five on each side wall, and two on the front wall.

Before leaving these figures it may be worth while comparing them with the analogous ones in the Bâgh caves in Mâlwâ.[1] In the antechamber of the shrine of the most entire cave there (No. I) are four large sculptured panels; on each end Buddha between two attendants (plate xviii, fig. 4), and on each side the shrine door is a Bôdhisattva about 10 feet high, represented in figs 2 and 3 of plate xx.[2] That on the right has had his right hand broken off, so that its original position is no longer recognisable; but the general style of both figures is so like those we find at Elurâ, that they cannot be mistaken; and the resemblance to the Bôdhisattvas in the Aurangâbâd caves is still more striking.[3] In both places the figure of Avalôkitêśvara is distinguished by the scantiness of the dress and the absence of jewellery, while that of the other Bodhisattva is marked by the jewelled belt, armlets, bracelets, rich *mukuṭa* and necklaces, while he wears a jewelled cord like the Brahmanical *jânvi*.

The figures that attend on Buddha in the panels in the ends of the antechamber (plate xviii, fig. 4), are perhaps different persons, though the one with the *châmâra* on his right is again distinguished by his rich *mukuṭa*, jewelled belt, *jânvi*, and necklace, from the other who bears only flowers in his hands. They are each about 7½ feet high.

This is the last of the series of Buddha Caves here, and probably one of the last excavated in India. In plan and arrangements, it bears a striking resemblance to the Das Avatâra Brahmanical Cave close by,[4] and, as already indicated, it is very probable they were excavated about the same period. It exhibits the early Mahâyâna mythology of the Yôgâchârya school[5] in a more developed state than any other cave in India, and can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than about 700 A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELURÂ BRAHMANICAL CAVE TEMPLES.—THE DÂS AVATÂRA AND KAILÂSA.

The Brahmanical Caves[6] begin at a distance of about fifty yards north of the Tin Thâl, the first we meet with being a large plain room, probably intended as a rest-house for pilgrims (see plate ii).

In the large cave close to this, known as Râvaṇa-ka-Khâî, the transition to the Brahmanical form is complete. There is nothing in either its architecture or its sculpture that can be mistaken for anything the Buddhists ever did. There are, however, as yet, no

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 368 ff.

[2] In Captain Dangerfield's account of the Bagh Caves, *Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ii, pp. 194 ff, are drawings of these figures, but very inaccurate. The Impey's description of the caves, *Journ. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 315 ff, is not illustrated.

[3] Compare plate lii in *Reports*, vol. iii, p. 76.

[4] Compare *Cave Temples*, plates lxiv, lxv, with plate lxiii and lxiv.

[5] This school, founded as already mentioned, perhaps about A.D. 300, acknowledged the existence of a soul in the universe. The other principal school of the Mahâyâna was the Mâdhyamika or followers of Nâgârjuna. See Wassilief, pp. 262, 286 f., 321.

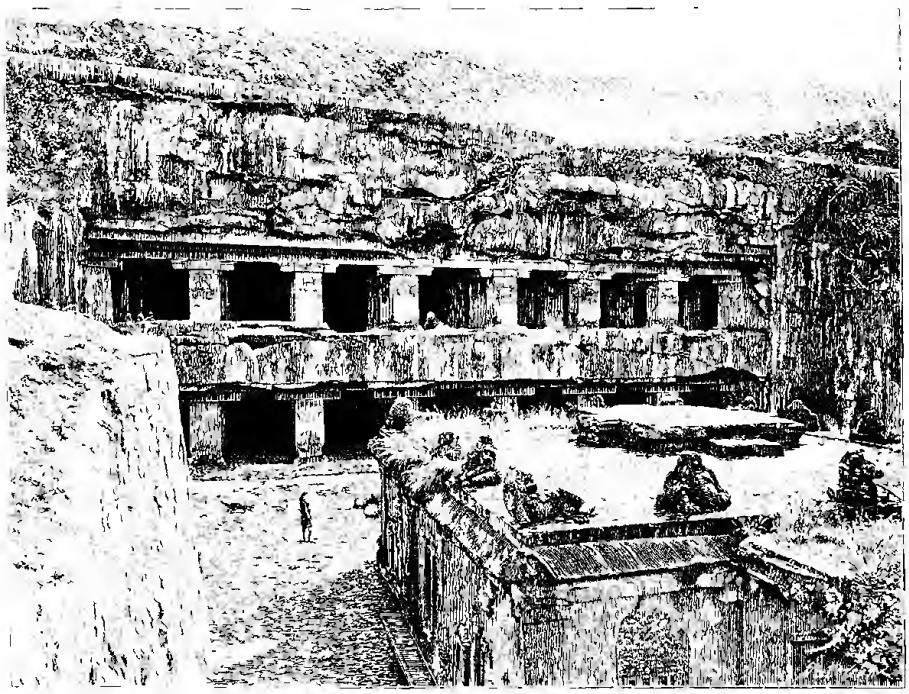
[6] See *Cave Temples*, introduction to chapter v of Book III, p. 431.

violent contrasts. The plan of the temple and the position of the shrine are not unlike what we find in the latest caves at Aurangâbad and in Cave No. VIII and the ruined south wing of Cave V. here; and the substitution of sculpture for cells—which are not required in Brahmanical caves—is only carrying out the system inaugurated in the Tin Thál.

A plan of this Cave will be found in *The Cave Temples*, plate lxv. fig. 2, and its sculptures are described in sufficient detail, pp. 432–435 of that work, to dispense with anything further being said on the subject here. It has almost certainly been dedicated to one of the goddesses or forms of Parvatí, but like the Dás Avatára, a large cave at Ivarusa, a small one at Aihole, and some of the earlier temples—its sculptures are partly Vaishnava and partly Śaiva.

The Das Avatara Cave

The next cave is a two-storeyed one, and one of the largest in the Brahmanical group. Plans of both floors are given in *The Cave Temples*, plates lxxiii and lxxiv, and on plate xxii, fig. 2, of this volume is added a transverse section of the cave and through the court, with its central mandapa. Though on a small scale, this will help to illustrate the arrangements of the cave and show how the sculptures are disposed on the left wall of the upper floor. Outside, on the end of the balcony, is a four-armed Rudra in a state of frantic excitement, but a leg and one of the hands are broken off.



No. 12. The Das Avatara Cave, from a photograph.

The general appearance of the front of this cave, as seen from one side of the court, is illustrated by the accompanying woodcut (No. 12), in which the roof of the hall in the court is seen in the foreground.

We observe the earliest application of this arrangement in the isolation of the cells in one of the Aihole caves, though the same principle is seen in the front of Cave XVI. there. See *Cave Temples*, pl. xxxiii.

The front pillars only have any carving upon them, all the rest inside being plain square shafts. One of these pillars in the upper storey is represented on plate xxi, fig. 1, and the shaft of the pilaster in the north end of the balcony in fig. 2, and a glance at them will show how strangely like Buddhist work they are. In the pilaster the little figure of Lakshmî in the lotus flower might readily be mistaken for a Buddha one, and the dancing female and musicians below we have the exact counterpart of in the Aurungábád Buddhist shrine No. VII,[1] while the *gandharvas* and *gaṇa* are quite as common in the works of that sect as in those of the Brahmans.

The pillar (fig. 1) is at first sight still more strikingly Buddhist. The figure on the end of the bracket most closely resembles Buddha in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, and the figures coming out of the mouths of *makaras* are what are found behind most figures of Buddha in the shrines. How this came here is difficult to surmise. On the lower part of the capital the sculptures are more Brahmanical: the *nâga*-like figure in the centre is Vishnu, and the flying one below him is Garuda, while the Nâgas and their wives at each side are found also in other Vaishnava sculptures.[2]

The stair lands in the north end of the front aisle, so there is no carving there; but in the end of the next cross aisle is the figure of Bhairava trampling on Kâlî, which forms one of the most terrible and expressive sculptures in these caves (see plate xxii, fig. 2). The next compartment or chapel has Śiva, eight-armed, dancing the dread *tâṇḍava* amid his followers (pl. xxi, fig. 1). At the end of the fourth aisle is an altar, but without any image now. The next contains Śiva, four-armed, seated with Pârvatî, two-armed, and supposed to be playing *chausar*; while below, or in front of the seat, is the Nandî or bull and the dwarf *gaṇa* frolicking about him. The sixth has the usual sculpture of Râvana under Kailâsa, attempting to carry off Śiva and his consort, while the *gaṇa* are represented as expressing their contempt for the many-handed monster in the vilest way. The next two compartments, being on the back wall, do not appear in the section; the first of them contains Śiva springing from out of the *linga* to rescue his worshipper Mârkaṇḍêya from Yamadaitya, the messenger of death (plate xxiv, fig. 1)—a myth but rarely represented in Hindu sculpture, but which also occurs in the corridor behind Kailâsa, which is also represented on the same plate. The second compartment contains Śiva and his consort, with Nandî and attendants. The pillars in the front of the antechamber have struts, each carved with a pair of figures and foliage somewhat like those in the great cave at Bâdâmi,[3] but of much inferior workmanship. On the left side of the chamber is a very large figure of Gaṇeśa or Ganapati, the god of policy—a figure which, though in modern times so universal a favourite and so constantly represented, is but sparingly so in the earlier mythology of the caves. On the back wall, to the right of this last, is a goddess—perhaps Pârvatî—with a rosary in her hand, and musicians on each side. She sits on a lotus, and two figures below, among foliage, hold the stalk, as the Nâga figures do under the images of Buddha. The dwârapâlas of the shrine-door are four-armed, and have the *vajra*, snake, and club. The *śâluṅkha*, or altar round the *linga*, in the shrine, has been destroyed by the Muhammadans, but the *linga* has perhaps been left unmoved. Whether any valuables were found around its base is, of course, unknown.

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[1] *Reports*, vol. iii, plate liv, fig. 5, and p. 78.

[2] *Ly.*, in Badami Cave III. See *Reports*, vol. i, plate xx.

[3] *Archæol. Reports*, vol. i, pl. xxiv to xxvi. Compare also *Cave Temples*, pl. xlv, fig. 2.

The other side of the cave is similarly sculptured. On the right of the shrine-door is Lakshmi, with four elephants pouring water on her. She is seated, similarly to the figure on the other side, on a lotus upheld by figures below, and holds a lotus and a custard-apple in her hands. Two four-armed attendants offer jars of water, and hold the *śankh*, *chakra*, and lotus. On the right end of the antechamber is a figure of Vishnu, with his *triśula* and lotus, attended by a large bird, which eats from his right hand, and a dwarf stands at his left.

On the back wall is a figure of Śiva inside a great pillar or *linga*, from the sides of which issue flames (plate xxi, fig. 3). On the right hand Vishnu is represented worshipping it, and again as Varâha digging down to try and find the bottom of it. On the other side is Brahma worshipping, and also flying up to try to discover its summit. The legend here referred to is well known among the Lingayats. The next compartment contains Śiva also, represented in a chariot with shield, sword, and bow, while Brahma drives the four horses (the *Vedas*) yoked to it.

The south wall is devoted to Vishnu, and the back compartment contains that god as Krishna with six arms, holding up Govardhan Hill above the flocks of Vraj. The next is the usual representation of Nârâyana resting on Śêsha, who has here a human head, with seven seated figures below. The third is Vishnu riding on Garuda. The fourth niche contains a *vêdi* or pedestal for an image; the fifth has Varâha bearing Prithvî; the sixth is the Trivikrama or Vâmana avatâra, represented as at Bâdâmi; and the seventh is Narasinha wrestling with Hiranyakaśipu (plate xxii, fig. 1), who is armed with sword and shield. Outside the cave on the wall is a gigantic Śaiva dwârapala, with long curly locks, and two cherubs above.

The mandap in the front of the court is about 31 feet wide by 26 feet deep and 10½ feet high, the roof being supported by four square pillars with plain square brackets and moulded bases. It had a porch, in front of a perforated window, on the west side, supported by two pillars in front, but the right-hand or south pillar, with most of the roof, is broken away. Over this window are the remains of an inscription in fourteen long lines, containing twenty-nine and a half verses, now much abraded, but which has been partially deciphered by Pandit Bhagvânlâl Indraji,[1] and from which is made out a genealogy of the Râshtrakûṭa dynasty, which ruled over the Dekhan from about A.D. 600 till towards the end of the tenth century.[2] The names here enumerated are:—

1. Dantivarmâ I. (circ. A.D. 600–630).
2. Indrarâja I., his son (630–650).
3. Govindarâja I., son of Indrarâja (650–675).
4. Karkarâja I. (or Kakka), son of Govinda (675–700).
5. Indrarâja II., son of Karka (700–730).
6. Dantidurga (or Dantivarmâ II.) Khadgâvaloka, son of Indra II., A.D. 753,[3] who overcame Vallabha or the Western Chalukya king, Kirtivarmâ II.

Nothing is made out respecting the construction of the temple, but the inscription may be taken as proving that it was finished, or at least in an advanced condition, when Dantidurga visited Elurâ in the middle of the eighth century; and it is not improbable that he had

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[1] See *Trans. Inscriptions* (Bombay, 1881), p. 92; see also below, p. 39.

[2] Vide *ante*, vol. iii, pp. 31–33; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 59–72; vol. i, p. 305; vol. v, p. 141; and vol. xi, p. 108; *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 202; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, sect. v.

[3] This is the date of the Sâmangadh grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 110.

constructed it. The inscription breaks off, however, in the 30th verse, and has never been finished. Moreover, in an inscription of Kṛishṇarâja, the uncle and successor of Dantidurga, he is said to have established himself at the hill or hill-fort of Elâpûra, where was a splendid temple of Svayambhu Śiva.[1] May not this Elâpûra have been Elurá? There was a Hindu city on the hill, of which extensive remains are yet to be seen.

On the north and south sides of the mandap are also perforated windows, and the door faces the cave. On the flat roof are tigers or lions at the corners, and three human or mythological figures between on each side. The door is in the style usual in the caves, with a plain architrave, and very small pairs of figures of gods and animals on the miniature representations of temples on the lintel. On each jamb of the door is a female figure with a small umbrella over the headdress, and a *chauri* on each side the head. On the corner pilasters are pairs of figures in embrace; and on the spaces between, in separate compartments, on each side, are one larger and two smaller male figures. On the north end are one male and three female figures on the four pilasters, and females in the larger intervening panels and in one of the smaller. On the north side is a curious *toraṇa* over the window; the corresponding one on the south side is empty. On the west side there are females on the corner pilasters only, and their hair is done up in the same style as in the figures in the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal; two of the smaller panels are empty, and males fill two larger and two smaller ones.

In a small room on the left of the entrance to the court, Brahmâ and Vishṇu with a Dêvi occupy the left wall, and Ganapati the right. Inside is a shrine, which has never been finished, containing a round *śâlunkha* bearing a *linga*, and behind it on the wall is a Trimurti. This excavation is of a very rude character, and probably belongs to a later age than the cave.

Kailâsa or Rang Mahâl.

This Rock-Temple, strictly so called, is No. XVII. of the series as reckoned from the south, and has been pretty fully described in *The Cave Temples*, pp. 448 to 463, and illustrated in the six plates lxxx to lxxxiv. It was there shown that the resemblances both in plan and details between this and the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal,[2] which was erected by the queen-consort of Vikramâditya II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, about A.D. 730,[3] give us strong confirmation to the conclusion, which is also supported by a fragment of an inscription found upon it, and other corroborative circumstances, that it was constructed in the reign of Dantidurga, the great Râṭhod king (cir. A.D. 730–755).

It is by far the most extensive and elaborate rock-cut temple in India, and the most interesting as well as the most magnificent of all the architectural objects which that country possesses. It is therefore well worthy, not only of the few additional illustrations which this volume contains, but of even a much more complete series of drawings than the means at our disposal will allow.

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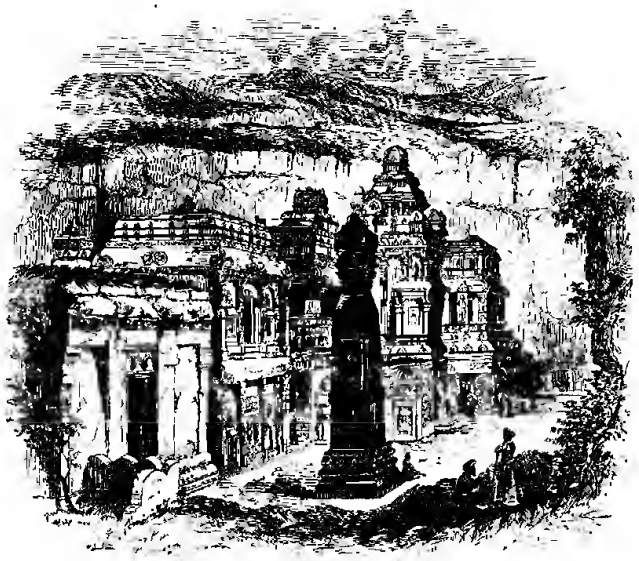
[1] *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii, pp. 295, 301; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 61. Al Mas'ûdi (cir. 940 A.D.) mentioned the caves probably under the name of *Alura* (Reinaud's transl., tome iv, p. 95, and *Cave Temples*, p. 367). The statement of the *Mâhâtmya* that the caves from Kuḍisa to the Buddha Caves were constructed by Ilvâja of Ilvalpur (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 385) is, of course, of no authority, but it may have arisen from some tradition of this king of Elâpûra. Other forms of it say that Ila or Harsha only cleaned and painted the caves about A.D. 900. See *Cave Temples*, p. 457 note.

[2] Described in the first *Archæological Report*, pp. 29–33, and plates xxxviii, xxxix, xl.

[3] Conf. inscription from the temple, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, pp. 164–166; and *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. iii, pp. 125, 126.

In *The Cave Temples* are given plans of both storeys (plates lxxxi and lxxxi A) and the elevation of the south side of the temple itself. To these are now added in this volume plates iv, xxiii, fig. 1, and xxv to xxxi.

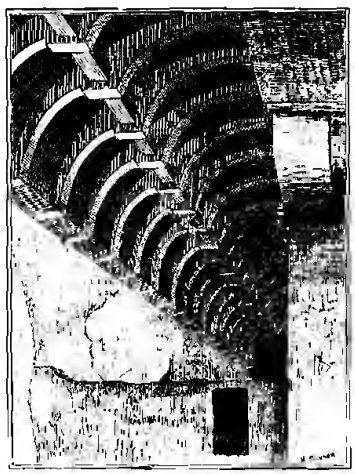
Plate xxiii, fig. 1, is a transverse section, on the same scale (20 feet to 1 inch) as the elevation (*Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxii), through the centre of the great hall, and continued north and south through the side excavations. This, together with the views in the frontispiece and the woodcut No. 13, will give a clear idea how the central fane is raised on a solid basement of rock about 27 feet high. Along the court, on each side, are seen the pillars of the colonnade and under the scarp of the rock on the east. On the north or left side, the section passes through a wider part of the colonnade below,[1] and through the hall of the Lankêśvara temple above, looking towards the door of its shrine, with its river goddesses on each side.



No. 13.—View of Kailasa from the south west.[2]

On the right side of the great temple, it will be observed that the rock has been excavated in four storeys, none of them ever quite finished. On this side there was a bridge from the south balcony of the great hall into the second storey, but it had been cut too thin for the rock to support so long a bearing, and had broken down. These halls on the south side are not carved with much sculpture, except the one containing the female mâtris or demons,[3] to the south-west of the central hall, and through which this section does not pass.

The fronts of the second and third storeys are protected above by handsome drips carved in the rock, quadrantal on the outer surface, and the under side carved in imitation of ribs, with a bearing rafter running horizontally through them, in the most perfect imitation of a carefully-jointed wooden construction. As may be seen from the accompanying woodcut (No. 14), the effect of this is very pleasing.



No. 14.—Eaves of the Second Storey on the south side of Kailasa.

[1] Marked M on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi.

[2] From a sketch by Dr. Jas. Fergusson, *Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 335.

[3] Marked E' on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi A.

In the third storey, the four pillars which support the roof are connected by a sort of arches, and the roof of the area within the pillars is considerably raised by a deep cornice. A square area is left in the centre of the roof, opening into the small room above, and just filling the area between the four pillars in it, similar to opening in the roof of the rock excavation in the Uparkot at Junágadh.[1] The fourth storey has an opening from the outside on the top of the rock, where there is some carving on the surface, near to the highroad.

The Hall, &c.

Among the details worth noting are the windows and panels of the great mandapa or hall. There are six windows, two in front and two on each side, of which the one on the south-east is very much broken; the other five are represented in plate iv, figs. 1-5, of which figs. 1 and 2 are those in front, figs. 3 and 4 on the north side, and fig. 5 the remaining window on the south. Three of them are arabesques, of very rich but entirely different designs, and the other two are formed of a combination of animal and vegetable designs:[2] then the spaces left uncarved are pierced through to admit the light. They may seem scarcely adequate for the purpose for which they were intended, but as light also enters from the five doors, these admit sufficient additional light to dispel the darkness in the corners of the hall, as far as is really necessary in an Indian temple.

Among the sculptures may be noticed two representations of a favourite subject in the Brahmanical works of the eighth century—the destruction of Mahishâsura[3] or the buffalo-headed demon, by Chandi or Durgâ, an event commemorated in the festival of the Durgâ-pujà or Dasarâ, in the month of Aśvin (Sept.-Oct.)[4]. Fig. 6 is the representation on a panel on the outside of the north wall of the great mandapa to the west of the balcony. Mahishâsura is here and in fig. 7 represented with a human body, as he is also in the large and spirited sculpture in the Yamapuri or Mahishamardini cave at Mahâvallipur,[5] and differs chiefly in his not having the high *mukuta* or regal cap which he wears in the latter. In later sculptures he is almost always represented with the body of a buffalo[6] and a man's head, or with a man's head coming out of the throat of a buffalo from which the goddess has cut off the head. In the Rûvana-ka-Khâi the scene is represented on the left of the entrance, but there the demon is in the form of a buffalo which she has seized with one hand by the mouth, while with another she drives her *triśula* into him, and with another right hand holds a long sword. In both these sculptures he wears a rich necklace, and in the first has a heavy sword or bill in his hand. Her tiger, from which she has dismounted, has seized by the head one of the Asuras behind her. In fig. 7, which represents the large sculpture on the side of the porch by which the court is entered, and on its north wall, we find more accessories: the goddess Mahishamardini is mounted, but not astride, on

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[1] *Archæol. Reports*, vol. ii, pl. xxi to xxiii.

[2] In the temple of Vishnu at Pattadakal, which so closely resembles the Kailâsa in plan and details, the windows are of similar devices.

[3] He is identical with the Shulamuklâsura of the Tamil district.

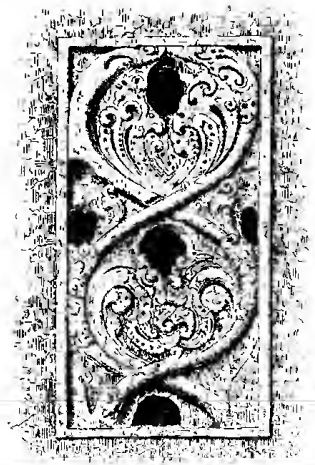
[4] The *Chandîpatha*, or episode from the *Mârkandeya Purâna* celebrating her victories over the Asuras, is read daily in her temples.

[5] *Cave Temples*, pp. 115-117. This cave is No. 32 in Cole's *Seven Pagodas*, pp. 7, 32, 49, 96, 149, 208, and *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 261.

[6] At Bâdâmi there is a sculpture in a small cell off Cave I, in which he is also represented simply as a buffalo. *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. i, p. 16, and plate xix, fig. 1; *Cave Temples*, p. 401.

ELURA.—KAILASA.

FIG 1.



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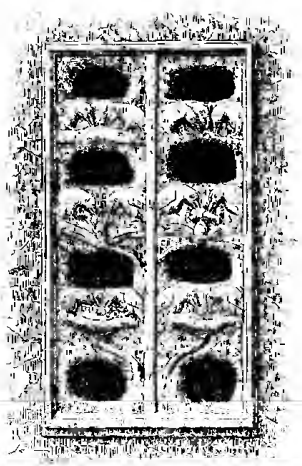

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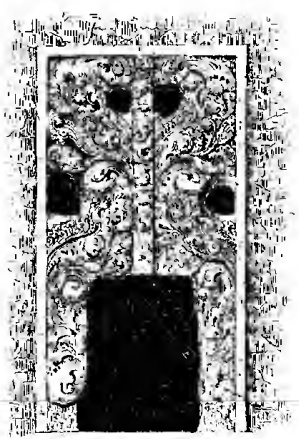

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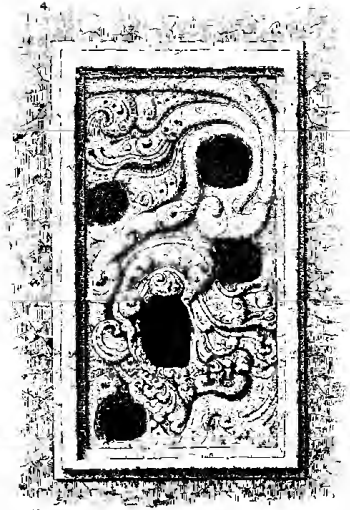

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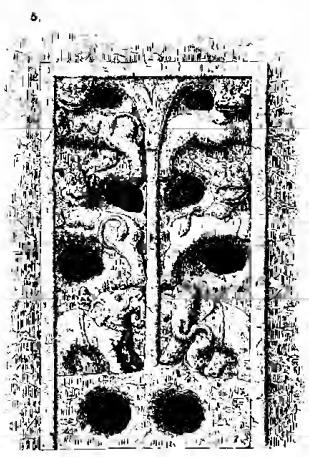

6.

7.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Feet

J. Burgess. *H. Cousens, del.*

by the tail.[1] (4) Varâha, the boar incarnation of Vishnu raising Prithvî, the earth-goddess; he is four-armed, with *chakra* and *śankh*, and has the Nâga or snake under his foot. (5) A four-armed Vishnu on Garuda, the winged man who carries him. (6) Trivikrama or Vâmana, the dwarf avâtara of Vishnu, somewhat like the representation of the same subject in the Dâs Avatâra Cave, and in the second and third caves at Bâdâmi, and at Mahavalli-puram;[2] he is represented with six arms, holding a long sword, club, shield, discus, and conch, with his foot uplifted over the head of Bali holding his pot. (7) A four-armed Vishnu as Krishna, upholding the hutel of the compartment, intended to represent the base of the hill Govardhana held up over the flocks of Vraj.[3] (8) Śesha Nârâyana, or Vishnu, reclining on the great snake,[4] with a lotus springing from his navel, on which is Brahmâ. Five fat little figures are carved below. (9) Narasimha, or the lion avatâra of Vishnu, tearing out the entrails of Hiranyakaśipu. (10) A figure with three faces and four arms trying to tear up a *linga*. (11) Śiva,[5] four-armed, attended by his vehicle, the bull Nandi; and (12) Ardhanârî, the androgynous personification of Śiva four-armed, and attended by Nandi.

Following the nineteen sculptures[6] in the east corridor (189 feet in length) from south to north, we have—(1) Śiva, locally known as Kâla Bhairava, four-armed, with the *triśula*, and accompanied by a small figure of Pârvatî, whose hair is dressed in a peculiar style. (2) A god stepping out from lotuses, with a small figure of a goddess holding him by the finger. (3) Śiva, four-armed, with the *triśula*, beside Pârvatî, with one right hand on her head and the other on her breast. (4) Śiva, four-armed, with the *triśula* in one of the left hands, and gandharvas above and other attendants below. (5) Śiva dancing on a dwarf, with a long-shafted *triśula* in one of his left hands. (6) Chanda, or Śiva Dhûrjati, locally called Bhûpâla Bhairava, with only a ribbon over his thighs, a *triśula* over his right shoulder, a begging-bowl in the left hand, and a *damaru* or small drum in the right, with Pârvatî in front of him. (7) Śiva or Bhairava, four-armed as usual, holding a cobra, with Nandi on his right and Pârvatî on his left hand. (8) Śiva again, and Nandi. (9) Brahmâ, with his *hansa* or sacred goose, three-faced and four-armed, with the ascetic's water-pot (*kamandalu*) and rosary (*japa-mâlâ*). (10) Śiva, with a cobra, and Nandi. (11) Vishnu, four-armed, with *śankh* and lotus; also a worshipper with his hands clasped. (12) Śiva, holding the *triśula*, with Nandi and a worshipper. (13) Śiva, holding a snake and a lock of his hair, while the Ganges, perhaps, is represented as flowing from it and down the outside of his arm; Pârvatî is at his left side, and an elephant[7] at his right. Above is a figure like Brahmâ, but only one face is now distinct, and overhead is a *gandharva* or *vidyâdhara*. (14) Śiva in a *linga*, with Brahmâ and Varâha.[8] (15) Perhaps Śiva, with four arms, *damaru*, club, and bell, but no third eye. (16) Śiva and Pârvatî sitting

[1] For the legend, see *Harivamśa*, § 68.

[2] See *Archæol. Report*, vol. i, pl. xxiii, fig. 1, and pl. xxxi; *Cave Temples*, p. 150; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 356 and plate, fig. 4.

[3] *Harivamśa*, § 74; Growse's *Mathura*, p. 58.

[4] Similar figures are found in the Umbvalli Cave, in the Tamilpuri Cave at Mahavalliputam, and in the Dâs Avatara Cave (*Cave Temples*, pp. 101, 116, 138).

[5] This supersedes the lists given in *Cave Temples*, p. 132. Sir Charles Malet must have followed the information of the ignorant native guides.

[6] Rajpuri?

[7] Compare the sculpture in the Dâs Avatâra Cave (*Cave Temples*, p. 137), and for the legend see *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ix, p. 91; or H. H. Wilson's *Works*, vol. ii, p. 211; my *Elephanta*, § 56, n. 10; also the *Ganga lahiri Purâna* in *J. Bom. B. R. A. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 142.

together, and Nandi below. (17) Śiva or Sadâśiva, with six arms, going to war against Tripurâsura or Târâka: Brahmâ drives him, armed with *triśula*, club, bow, and quiver, in the sun's chariot, with the four *Vedas* as his horses, and Nandi is represented on the top of the club. (18) Vîrabhadra, six-armed, holding up his victim Ratnâ-sura, with *damaru*, bowl, and *triśula*, and accompanied by Pârvatî, Kâlî, a goblin and vampire. Every drop, says the myth, of Ratnâsura's blood that fell on the ground produced another Asura like himself. (19) Śiva, with Pârvatî at his left side, and laying his hand on one of hers, while he has a flower in another, and Bhringi, his skeleton attendant, waits below.

Turning into the north corridor, which is 120 feet long and has twelve sculptures, we have—(1) Śiva springing from the *linga* to protect Markandêya from Yama, the god of death (plate xxiv, fig. 2). (2) Śiva and two worshippers, one of them a huntsman with a bow (plate xxvii, fig. 1). (3) Śiva and Pârvatî, the latter with a very large chignon, playing at *chausar*; below are Nandi and eleven *gana* (fig. 2). Śiva and Pârvatî sitting together; Nârada below is apparently playing some wind instrument. (5) Śiva and Pârvatî above the latter, with her arm entwined in Śiva's; Râvana has been begun below but never completed. (6) A human figure called Rishi Muchlinkunda, with two arms, and a bag on his left shoulder. (7) Śiva and Pârvatî seated facing one another, as if he were speaking to her; nothing below. (8) Śiva, four-armed, with snake and rosary, and Nandi on the right. (9) Śiva and Pârvatî seated, and Nandi couched below (fig. 3). (10) The same pair, with a *linga* altar between them, and Nandi couchant below. (11) Śiva with Pârvatî on his left knee, and a seated and a standing figure below. (12) A *linga* with nine heads round it, and a kneeling figure of Râvana upholding the *vêdi* in which it is, and cutting off his tenth head in devotion to Śiva.

Pillars.

Of the pillars in Kailâsa, some specimens were given in the *Cave Temples* (plate lxxxiv); we here add some further examples. In plate xxviii, fig. 1, is another pillar from the great mandapa, while fig. 2 is one of the pilasters from the side walls. Fig. 3 is an example from the lower storey, under Lankêśvara, from the apartment (*M*) in the north side of the court (*Cave Temples*, plate lxxxi). Above a moulded base the lower half of the square shaft on the side facing the court is carved, below with three capering *ganas* in *basso-rilievo* in small ornamented panels, and above in a central panel a human figure standing with a *triśula* in his right hand; the border of this panel, the edges of the pillar opposite to it, and a pretty broad band above it are carved with much care and considerable taste. An extended plain bracket surmounts the shaft under the architrave above.

Lankêśvara.

On plate xxix, fig. 1, is given one of the four pillars that surround the central area in the Lankêśvara.[1] These massive piers, with the short shafts square to about half their height, and bold capitals and brackets, produce an almost Egyptian effect of solidity and grandeur, unlike anything else even in the cave architecture of India. The floor of the central area in this hall is somewhat raised above the surrounding aisles, but the roof is correspondingly elevated by a double architrave surrounding it, and shown in section above the pillar, and also in plate xxiii, fig. 1.

[1] One of the outer range is given in the *Cave Temples*, plate lxxxiv, fig. 4.

The sculptures in Lankêśvara have been executed with great care and minute detail, but most of them have been very much injured by Muhammadan ignorance. The figure of Śiva dancing, the *Tâṇḍava* in the end of the front aisle has often attracted attention,[1] and is represented in plate xxix, fig. 2, where the elaborate headdress in which is fixed a skull and the crescent moon, the necklace, armlets, and jewelled belts may be studied. He is represented with six arms, of which the right front one, which was probably bent forwards, the back one bent downwards and forwards, and the front left one are all broken off, as is the whole of the left leg and the lower half of the right one, which appears to have been twisted quite round.

On the back wall is a series of the principal great gods of the pantheon in six sculptures, of which three are represented in plate xxx. Fig. 1 represents Sûrya or the sun-god at the east end of the wall with his two wives[2] and two male attendants, his sons, the Aświns. He holds two lotuses growing out of his hands, wears a diadem, and necklace hanging down, with earrings and a girdle (*viyaṅga*),[3] but it can hardly be said that in this case he is "clad in the dress of the Northerners, so as to be covered from the feet upwards to the bosom," as in Varâha Mihira's directions for making his image.[4]

Fig. 2 represents Umâ or Pârvatî, the consort of Śiva, four-armed, and performing *tapas* or ascetic penance between two fires, while holding up a *liṅga*—the symbol of Śiva—in one right hand, and an image of Ganêśa, his reputed son and chief of his followers, in one of the left hands. There are traces under her feet of a crocodile, which being the emblem of Gaṅgâ, may also be used by Umâ.

In the middle compartment on this wall (fig. 3) are the three Dii Majores of the Brahmans—Brahmâ, Śiva, and Vishṇu—each four-armed, but damaged in their hands, which probably held the usual symbols borne by each god. Brahmâ is represented with three faces—the fourth is supposed to be behind the central front one. His consort, Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning, is one of the figures beside him, and his *vâhana* or vehicle, the *haṅsa*-swan or goose, is on his left. The central figure is Śiva holding up his *triśula*, called Pinâka, and a snake, with Nandi by his side and an attendant. The third is Vishṇu, with the discus and a great club, attended by a male and a female. An injured figure of Varâha—the Boar avatâra of Vishṇu—on this same wall is represented on plate xxix, fig. 3, with his left foot on the heads of a pair of Nâgas.

The Chapels, Śikhara, &c.

It should be noted that while in Râvana-kâ-khâî, Râmêśvara, Dumâr Lena, and other cave temples, there is a clear passage for *pradakshiṇâ* or circumambulation of the shrine,

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[1] The figure of Śiva from this panel was drawn by Capt. R. N. Grindlay for the Hon. Lady Hood in 1813, and afterwards published in 1828 in the *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 326, but like his other drawings made at Elura, he gives the figure quite an artistic finish of a high order.

[2] A figure of Sûrya and his two wives appears in one of the tympani of the Âmrâ Cave on the Khandagiri hill in Orissa, not represented in the photographs from the casts in *Cave Temples*, pl. i and p. 72. It is over the left door, and is specially interesting from its close resemblance to the sculpture in the small very early Vihâra at Bâgh (*Cave Temples*, pl. xcviii and pp. 515, 522; *Reports*, vol. iv, p. 6 and pl. vi, fig. 1, and vol. ii, p. 215 and pl. lxv; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 116). When not in his chariot, Sûrya is frequently attended by two armed males as well as by his wives.

[3] Or *urdhvaga*, from the Baktrian and Zend *mraydaêhanem*, equivalent to the Pârsî *kusti*.—Haug's *Essays*, West's ed., pp. 286, 396.

[4] *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, lviii, 16.

in the Kailâsa this is provided for by the doors in the east wall leading on to the terrace on which are also five small shrines, with but little carving on their walls beyond the *dwârapâlas* at the doors, which, in the case of the one on the north side, are females, with a pair of figures kissing on each side. In all of them, except that on the south side, there are altars for images; in that one there is a bench round the back and ends, and it was probably devoted to the Mâtris, which would be arranged along the back of it as in the Yajña śâlâ on the south side of the court,[1] with Skanda or Śiva in the left end, and Ganêśa and the skeleton figure on the right. The two at the corners would probably be devoted to Chanda and Rudra or Bhairava—both terrific forms of Śiva—the former represented as nude, having Śiva's third eye in his forehead, with two or four arms holding the *triśûla* and a jug or *damaru*, and his hair wound up in the *jaṭâ* style. To him the refuse of the offerings were thrown. On the east side was the shrine of Pârvatî, the *śaktî* of Śiva.[2] The *dwârapâlas* of this shrine are armed with swords. It is doubtful to whom we ought to assign the fifth shrine on the north side opposite to the *Sômasûtra* or outlet for the water from the *liṅga* inside the temple,—possibly it was dedicated to Sûrya or Nârâyana.[3] In an advanced recess in the corner of the temple facing this is an image of Ganapatî or Vinâyaka, the eldest son of Śiva; and on the façade above it is a figure in *alto-rilievo* with its face to the wall. The image in the corresponding recess on the south-west of the temple is perhaps meant for Vishṇu.

The base of the *śikhara* itself is carved in panels, six on each side, and five on the back, containing various forms of Śiva, such as Chanda, Ardhanârîśvara, &c., Durgâ and Vishṇu, standing on fat dwarf figures (perhaps Asuras), and with other attendants. At the upper corners of the panels are conventionalised figures of peacocks with long tails, and above the panel is usually a Dêvî seated cross-legged. Two of these compartments are represented in figs. 1 and 2 of plate xxxi, the first being the second panel from the door of the mandapa on the south side, and the other the sixth. The slightest examination of these two drawings will serve to convince any one of the exceeding richness and beauty of the foliage over the panels, and of the great variety of floral ornamentation on the side pilasters. And these are only two out of seventeen, all carved in similar style, and all varying in details.

Fig. 3 represents a similar panel on the south side of the basement of the Nandi porch, just in front of the great temple. It has contained a representation of Narasiṁha struggling with Hiraṇyakaśipu; but being more exposed, has been much injured. The compartment is surrounded by carved pilasters and a frieze, round which are numerous figures looking on at the struggle.

On the roofs of the Gôpuram in front, of the Nandi-mandapa before the temple, and of the great hall itself, figures of lions and fat dwarfs are placed. Two of these lions from the roof of the great hall are represented on plate xxxi, figs. 3 and 4. They stand about 4 feet high, and are executed in the same bold style as the similar figures of lions and elephants round the base of the temple.

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[1] Marked E on the plan, *Cave Temples*, plate lxxxi a.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 119 note, and p. 149.

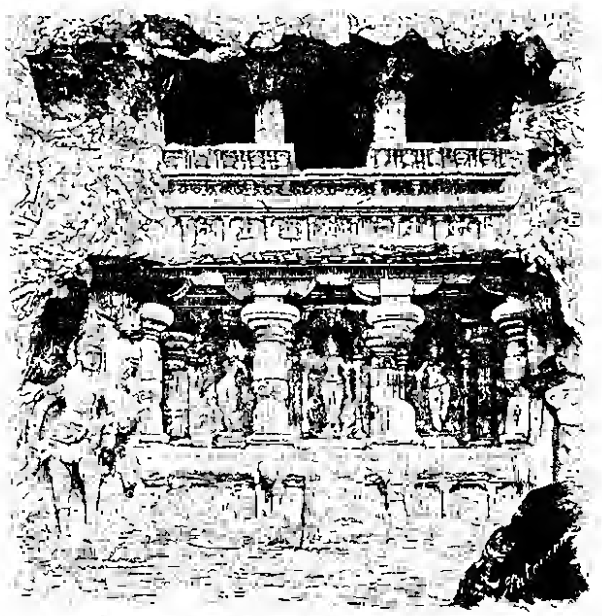
[3] The temple of Govindêśvara at Sinnar, twenty miles south from Násik, is arranged thus:—The great central temple dedicated to Śiva faces the east; in front of it is the Nandimandapa: in the S.E. corner of the surrounding court is the shrine of Vishṇu, in the N.E. that of Sûrya; in the N.W. of Mahâdêva and in the S.W. of Ganapati.

Over the gôpuram were fat dwarf figures represented as blowing *śankhs*. But as they had been carved separately, most of them have been thrown down and destroyed. One is represented in the woodcut No. 15. Similar figures are also carved on the roof of the mandapa in the court of the Das Avatâra cave, and on the roof of the second storey of the Undavalli cave near Bezwâdâ.[1]

No. 15.—Dwarf Figure from the roof of the gôpuram of Kailâsa.

Shrine of the River Goddesses.

In the north side of the court, behind the elephant, is a shrine about 23½ feet long by 9 feet deep and 11 high, with two free-standing pillars in front (one of them broken) and two in antis (woodcut No. 16). They have moulded bases, 16-sided shafts, and massive capitals with a double bracket above. The floor is about 5 feet above the level of the court, and is approached by five steps, with an elephant's head and front feet on each side of them, and the rest of the front of the podium is divided into three panels on each side, containing small sculptures much abraded. At the ends also have been the heads, &c., of elephants, and the façade was terminated by gigantic *dwârapâlas* with several arms, and wearing high *mukuṭas* or tiaras. The back wall of this shrine is divided by half pillars into three large panels, with slender colonnettes on each side carrying *makaras*, and richly carved *tôranas* above, each containing a tall figure of a goddess in almost entire relief, symmetrically arranged, and which have been carved with unusual care, and though anything but classical in their proportions, they are about the best here, but have been much abused. The central one, which is perfectly erect, stands on a *makara*, with lotus leaves and flowers behind her, and may therefore be supposed to represent Gangâ; the other two lean slightly towards her,—the one on the left standing on a lotus flower, with creeping plants and birds among their leaves, and that to the right



No. 16.—Shrine of the River Goddesses, from a photograph.

[1] *Cave Temples*, p. 102.

on a tortoise (*kurma*), with creepers and water plants behind,—the two representing the river goddesses Sarasvatî and Yamî or Yamunâ respectively.[1]

The frieze of the façade of this chapel has been divided into seven panels; in the central one are three figures, and in each of the others a male and female seated together. These may have had some connection with the seven river goddesses of mythology, but they are too much abraded to make out who they are. Over these are some mouldings, and above, in front of a quite unfinished cave, is a low rail carved with water-jars, separated by two little colonnettes. A part of this rail, cut away in the centre, seems to indicate that it was approached by a ladder.

Screen in front of the Court.

The screen and front of the *gopuram* or entrance gate to the court is also covered with mythological sculptures in recessed panels, and the outer side of the screen is crowned by a crenellated parapet. Each crenellation is carved with three bells, and below them is a string of small figures in high relief on foot, on horseback, in carts, fighting, &c.

Commencing from the north, the large panels in order are—(1) one never advanced beyond two slight incisions in the rock; (2) the next contained a large figure of some form of Śiva with ten arms, holding up what somewhat resembles a bowl, with flames rising out of it—all below the waist of the figure is destroyed; (3) a tall three-faced figure, probably Brahmâ. Turning a corner, on a portion of the wall facing south, are three panels; (4) containing a tall *linga*, as in the Dás-awatára Cave, with a triple Śiva looking out of it; Brahmâ is represented ascending on the left side, and also standing lower down; Vishnu is on the right side, and a four-armed figure over his head, with a gandharva still higher, but the Varâha below and the base of the *linga* have been destroyed; (5) a tall four-armed *déva*, with something like a *chakra* in the left hand, and a bull's head to the left; (6) another tall four-armed figure, but all insignia are gone. The line of wall again turns to the south, and (7) the first compartment is a large deep recess over a drain from the court, but it is so rotted away that it is impossible to say whether it contained any sculpture; (8) the next seems to contain Kârttikéya or Skanda, the war-god, the Hindu Mars, and second son of Śiva, born to destroy Târaka, an Asura who became dangerous to the gods.[2] He is represented two-armed, riding on his peacock Paravâni, with an arrow or sceptre in the right, and perhaps a bird in the left hand: the lower portion of the panel is destroyed. (9) A two-armed figure on a ram-headed animal with a mane—perhaps Agni, the god of fire and regent of the south-east; (10) a similar figure on a deer, and may therefore be Varuna, the Hindu Uranus, the regent of the west; (11) another on a *makara*, with a very large head. This may be Nirṛiti, the regent of the south-west.

Just behind the porch is (12) a Nâga figure with five hoods as a sort of dwârapâla,

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[1] Like many other points in Hindu mythology, the number and names of the river goddesses is quite unsettled. In some of the classics they are called the Sapta-Sindhava, but for these even the *Mahâbhârata* gives two different enumerations. In the Peninsula they are often reckoned as (1) Yamunâ, (2) Sarasvatî, (3) Gangâ, (4) Narmadâ, (5) Godâvarî, (6) Kâvêri, and (7) Kṛishṇâ; but in different districts one or more of the following—Sindhu, Satudri (Sutlej), Gomatî, Kṛishṇâ, Tungabhadrâ, Tâmraparnî, and Manjîrî—are added or substituted for others in the list. The first three—Yamunâ, Gangâ, and Sarasvatî—however, seem to have been the favourites, and generally accepted.

[2] See Griffith's beautiful version of the first seven cantos of the *Kumâra Sambhava* or *Birth of the War God* (Trübner, 1879).

having a lotus bud in the left hand. On the north side wall of the entrance is a Nâgani with one hood and a dwarf female attendant, and a *gandharva* over her right shoulder. (13) On the jamb of the porch is a tall female—a river goddess—standing on a *makara* as Gaṅgâ, and resting her arm on a smaller female. A fat *gandharva* figure with a large *chauri* is over her right shoulder; that over the left has been broken away, except the *chauri*; and below is another attendant figure. (14) On the other pilaster has been a similar sculpture. (15) On the south side of the pilaster and return of the wall are a Nâgani and a Nâga figure as on the other side, with large *chauri*, and one *gandharva* over her head and two over his bearing garlands. (16) Indra, the god of the firmament and regent of the east, on his elephant Airâvati, with Indrâni, Aindri or Sachi behind, and above are gandharvas. This panel is much weatherworn. (17) Behind this a little, in a narrow compartment, is Yama the "Restrainer," the god of death, the Pluto or Minos of the Indian Pantheon and brother of Yamî, the regent of the south, mounted on a buffalo. (18) The next also contains a riding figure, but much abraded and indistinct—possibly Vâyu, the regent of the north-west, who should be mounted on a Bhûta or spirit. (19) Nothing is left in the next compartment, but it also was probably occupied by another of the eight Dikpâlas or regents[1]—Kuvêra or Îsâna.

Over the water drain is (20) a large figure of Varâha, with eight arms, and five *gandharvas* above; the figure of Pṛithivî or Bhûmidêvi is destroyed. Then, on the return of the wall facing north are three panels—(21) Vishṇu on Garuḍa; (22) an eight-armed Trivikrama as at Bâdâmi, but destroyed below; and (23) a figure in violent action. On the west face again are (24) Narasimha, the man-lion avatâra of Vishṇu, with long curls; and (25) an eight-armed figure in violent action, possibly Śiva in the Tândava dance, with Pârvati at his right side.

To the south of this is a rock-cut cistern about 22 feet by 19.

On each side the entrance to the porch is a sitting figure with one foot up (*lalitâsana mudrâ*)—perhaps they had beards; and on the front of the inner jamb on each side is a female with umbrella and *chauri* overhead, and a small attendant. Passing through the Gopuram,[2] in which the two pillars on each side dividing the passage from the guard-rooms have been neatly carved, we find the jambs at the east end have fat figures on the front, one holding a *śaṅkh* and the other a bud, out of both which a long *toraṇa* or roll extends over their heads. Above are two *gandharvas*, and their seats are supported by lions. On the east faces of these jambs are gigantic four-armed Rudras with clubs, as dwâra-pâlas. In the inner porch of the gateway are two sculptures in panels with side pilasters and pediments; that on the south wall is the Mahishâsuri already referred to, and on the north side is a Gaṇeśa with female chauri-bearers.

On the outer side of the north wall of the porch is the large Mahishâsuri already described, and on the return wall of the court are—(1) A two-armed figure with high *muḳuṭa*, and his right hand pressed against the upper corner of the compartment. (2) A male and female, supposed to be Kâma, Manmatha, or Makaraḳêtu (Eros, Cupid), and his wife Rati or Rêvâ (Venus): these are represented on plate xxvi, fig. 2. (3) On the return of the wall is a single male figure. (4) A female with the hair gathered in a lump on her left shoulder. (5) A male and female with a slender palm-tree between them, the stem

[1] These figures appear in the roof of the vermilah of the great cave of Badami also. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 361 and plate.

[2] The apartment marked A on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi.

notched. (6) Vishnu mounted on Garuda. (7) Over the drain a figure sitting on a chair with another kneeling in front.

To the north of this is an unfinished cave in the screen, with four stout short pillars having thick compressed cushion-shaped capitals: one pillar is destroyed.

On the south side of the entrance porch, and partly on the west wall, is (1) a large sculpture of Śiva in the chariot of the sun, drawn by the four *Vedas* as horses, with Brahma as his charioteer, armed with the bow (Himálaya) which he draws against an enemy. This sculpture is also found in the Dáś-avatára cave. In front of him in several panels are groups of small figures; in one in front of the horses his enemies seem falling in confusion. (2) Behind this is a four-armed figure with a peculiar turban, and holding a large fruit in his hand. The next figures (3 to 6) are apparently Rudras in various attitudes. (7) Over the drain are—a small figure bending a bow with his feet; a larger one, apparently about to strike or push away a female; and some others; and (8), to the left, a male and female seated on a *simhásana*. Next to this is an unfinished excavation in the south end of the screen, apparently intended for a small open room or shrine.

It is evident from the number of unfinished excavations, especially on the south side of the court, that for long after the great temple was finished, works were carried on at different points in the surrounding rock, adding shrines and images, until perhaps the inroads of the Muhammadans finally put a stop to them.

CHAPTER V.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES NORTH OF KAILÁSA.

Caves XVII.–XX.

Of the caves to the north of Kailása, except in one or two cases, not much need be added to what has been said in the *Cave Temples* (pp. 438–448). Across a deep ravine and watercourse, we reach Caves XVII., XVIII., and XIX., of which the first two are in close contact. No. XVII. is locally known as the "Chhóta," or small "Dumar Lena," though it has no resemblance to the larger cave passing under that name. The ground-plans of it and of No. XVIII. are given in plate xxxii, fig. 1, from which it will be seen that it had a low court in front with a corridor round it, now fallen in and ruined. Eight steps rise up to the porch (now also fallen) on the level of the hall, the front of which is supported by four pillars (see plate xxxii, fig. 2), and the roof inside by eight heavy square ones of various patterns, one of which, from the back row, is represented in plate xxxiii, fig. 1. It has never been finished above, but the drawing shows how it was probably intended to complete it. These pillars may be compared with the pilasters in Rávana-ka-Khái (*Cave Temples*, plate lxxi, fig. 1). The front and back aisles are fully 2 feet longer than the middle one, being 64 feet, and the depth of the hall is 37 feet. In the back wall are three doors, two opening into the *pradakshiná* passage which surrounds the shrine,[1] and the central one into the shrine itself, which contains a large square altar and a decayed *linga*. The only sculptures on the walls are Mahishamardini in the south end of the front

[1] Compare with this the plan of the temple of Papanáth at Pattadakal (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. i. plate xviii.).

aisle, four-armed, with *triśúla* and sword, and holding by the nose the buffalo, which represents the Asura; Ganapati, also four-armed, is carved in the north end.

On the rock on the left side of the court, at the end of the façade, is a figure of Brahmá with three faces, represented in plate xxxvi, fig. 1.

Cave XVIII., close to this, has an irregular-shaped court in front, in the middle of which is a shallow trough. The cave is raised above the level of the court, and has four unfinished pillars in front. The hall is 67 feet long by about 22½ deep, having a slightly raised platform inside. At the back is an antechamber 30 feet by 10½ feet, with two square pillars in front and corresponding pilasters, having low bases of two members. The shrine has no *pradakshiná* path round it, and contains a round structural *védi* or altar—a modern form—and a *linga*.

Cave XIX. (plate xxxii, fig. 2) is a very irregular and much-decayed cave, with a wide entrance. The hall inside is 43 feet wide by about 32 feet deep, and the shrine is surrounded by a *pradakshiná* passage.

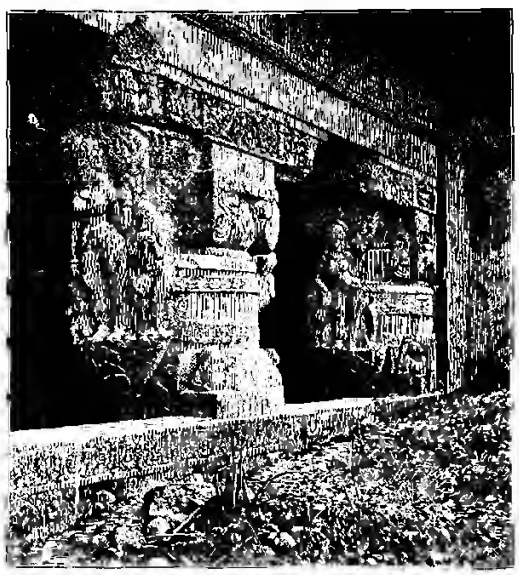
Close to the next is a ruinous cave filled with earth and hidden by underwood. Cave XX. (fig. 3) is little more than a shrine, with a wide passage round it, or a hall 37 feet wide by 30 feet deep in the middle, of which a block has been left 20 feet by 16 hewn into a shrine, the front of which has been given in the *Cave Temples*, plate lxxviii, which shows the carving on the different members of the door mouldings and the figures on each side so very analogous, even in details, to what are found in similar positions in the Bauddha caves, as may be seen by comparing it with the front of the shrine in Cave VI. (*Cave Temples*, plate lxi), that one is almost forced to allow that the one sect may have copied from the other. On a platform outside is a square base, either of a *dhwajastambha* or the remains of a pedestal for a Nandi. Lower down by 6 or 8 feet, and farther back, is another small platform.

Cave XXI.—Rámeśvara.

Close to the last is the cave No. XXI., known as Rámeśvara, which has been described in considerable detail in *The Cave Temples* (pp. 438 f., and plate lxxvi, fig. 1, and lxxvii). The plan, it will be remarked, is similar to that of Cave XVII, but without the pillars in the floor of the hall, and more closely resembling that of Cave XXVI. It has two columns in front of the shrine, with corresponding pilasters; one of the columns is represented in plate xxxiii, fig. 3. They are somewhat of the Elephanta type, but in place of the bracket is a deep square abacus, carved on the front and sides with figures. The lower half of the shaft is square, the upper portions of it being covered with bands of rich tracery. Over these is a deep octagonal member, with dwarfs on the corners; and the upper portion of the shaft is circular, with forty-nine very shallow or flat flutes. The side chapels have each a similar pair of columns in front, but standing on a raised platform, and with only a thin square abacus above.

The façade of the cave is shown in plate v. It has a low screen wall in front, now much rotted away from the accumulation of earth that long lay against it. Below was a moulded base to about the level of the floor inside. Above this is a string-course of animals, chiefly elephants. The face of the rail over this is divided into narrow panels by broad vertical bands of arabesques, each panel containing a standing male and female figure, and over this runs a coping of festooned carving. From this wall rise the pillars which support the roof, of which the lower portions of the shafts, partly embraced in the

wall, are square. Just above the screen is an octagonal member with dwarfs on the corners, then the shafts become circular, with flowered members and flutes. The capital has drooping ears and a square abacus, over which are long brackets, carved in front with human figures and animals, somewhat in the style of those in the later Ajuntâ caves; but here there are added massive struts supporting the brackets, each consisting, as shown in the accompanying woodcut (No. 17), of a tall female figure standing under foliage, and attended by two small figures. Similar figures on a larger scale are carved at the ends of the façade, and there they are at once identifiable with the river goddesses, the one at the left end standing on a *makara*, the symbol of Gangâ.



No. 17. Elûrâ: in front of Rameśvara, from a photograph.

Over a plain architrave is a frieze with sunk panels containing dwarf figures, divided by compartments carved in arabesque designs. On the whole, this has been the most richly carved façade of any of the Elurâ caves, or indeed of any Brahmanical cave in India.

It is in fact the architectural arrangements of this façade that constitute the principal interest in this cave; for besides its intrinsic beauty, its strongly marked characteristics point it out as the style of a well-defined but limited architectural epoch. It is reproduced with some changes in Cave III. at Bâdâmi, and to a certain extent in No. XX. at Ajuntâ, while, as the Bâdâmi cave has a well-authenticated date of 579 A.D., we may feel certain that these Elurâ and Ajuntâ caves were executed within a few years of that date—either before or after. Looking at the extreme elaboration of the Rameśvara façade, it would appear to be subsequent to the Bâdâmi caves, but the difference can hardly be fifty years, and in the Ajuntâ example it may be even less. We have thus a thread of chronology running through the dates of the principal series of caves of the utmost value for determining the relative ages, at least of the later examples of cave architecture.

In the chapel in the right end of the hall of this cave is carved one of the large groups of Saptamâtris found also in Râvana ka Khât and in Cave XXII., in this case covering the three inner walls of the room, and of which the Mâtris on the back and the group on the right end wall are represented on plate xxxiv. fig. 1. The vâhanas or vehicles of the different mother goddesses that were carved below each are now almost entirely destroyed, but there is no difficulty in recognising them by their positions and the symbols they have in their hands. Ganapati sits at their head, and then in order from right to left they are—(1) Châmuṇḍâ. (2) Indrâṇi or Aindri (having a *vajra* in her hand). (3) Varâhi. (4) Lakshmî or Vaishṇavî (with the *śankha* and *chakra*). (5) Kaumâri or Sênâ. (6) Maheśvari, and (7) Brâhmi or Sarasvati. Each of them had a child (except, perhaps, Sarasvati), but they are all more or less defaced. At the end sits Mahâdêva or Śiva, with Nandi below, and on the wall to the left is Śiva engaged in the *Tâṇḍava* dance, which he performs at the destruction of the world, with attendants. On the other end wall is the ghastly group represented to the right, in which Kâli and Kâla—the goddess of destruction and her partner—are probably represented. The panel is much injured below.

A very similar group of the Mâtris is found in the south side of the next cave No. XXII., and is represented also on plate xxxiv, fig. 2. Here Châmundâ is represented in a ghastly skeleton form, while Varâhî, like her husband, has a boar's head, and Sarasvatî or Brâhmî has three heads and holds a bottle. On the right end wall are Kâla and Ganêśa, and on the left Śiva.

The high pedestal in front of the cave, on which a headless Nandi still couches, is carved on the sides with goddesses also and attendants.

Caves XXII.–XXVII.

Close to Râmêśvara, and somewhat advanced in front of it, is Cave XXII., known as Nîlakantha ("blue-throated"), a name of Śiva. The plan of this cave is given plate xxxii, fig. 4. It has a somewhat irregular court in front, about 42 feet each way, in the centre of which, on a high base, stands the Nandi mandapa, now somewhat ruined. The plan somewhat resembles that of Cave XVIII., but with pillars introduced into the hall and in front of the side chapels. On the south side of the court is a low chapel containing the sculpture of the Mâtris referred to above, with a skeleton Bhringi or Kâla with two arms and outspread hair; Ganapati and the seven mothers—the last, Brahmî, with three faces and holding a bottle; and, lastly, Śiva. All the Mâtris and Śiva have four arms each. Among other sculptures in the vestibule to the shrine is the figure of Gangâ represented in plate xxv, fig. 5.

The next two caves (Nos. XXIII. and XXIV.) are close to the last, and are rather a series of small shrines than cave temples. They are probably of later date than any of the larger ones. The ground-plan is given on plate ii, drawn to the same scale as the others, from which it will be observed that they are huddled together and contain six round *têdîs*, and in one of the shrines in No XXIII. is a *trimurti* on the back wall (figured in *Cave Temples*, plate lxxv, fig 2). In Cave XXIV. is an injured figure of a River goddess represented on plate xxv, fig. 4.

From these last to Cave XXV., which is known by the names of Kumbârwâdâ and Sûrêśvara, is about 70 yards. The plan is given on plate xxxv, fig. 3, which shows that, behind a hall about 90 feet long, of which the front has fallen away, is a smaller one, 57 feet wide by 23 feet deep and 13 feet 10 inches high, with four square free-standing pillars in front and two in antis. Inside are two others, with corresponding pilasters on the side walls; and in the back, separating it from the antechamber to the shrine, are two more free-standing pillars, with two in antis. These pillars have brackets, and on the front of each bracket a male and female flying figure. On plate xxxv, fig. 2, is a drawing of the side of one of these pillars, showing how the bracket is separated from the capital of the shaft by a neck narrower than the shaft itself, and illustrating at the same time the deterioration in style and taste which the proportions and details indicate.

On the roof of the antechamber is the figure of Sûrya, the sun-god, in his chariot (*Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxiii, fig. 2), from which the temple derives the name of Sûrêśvara. The shrine door has a Dravidian moulding on the frieze, and by the jambs are tall dwârapâlas standing on lotuses with very bushy locks and long swords.

The next cave, No. XXVI., is very like the Râmêśvara in plan (pl. xxxii, fig. 5). The hall is 74 feet wide by 25 feet deep and 16½ feet high, with four pillars in front. At each end is a large irregular-shaped room at a somewhat higher level, with two square pillars and pilasters in front, and at the back is a still larger one, about 40 feet square, also with two square pillars and pilasters in front. In the middle of this stands the shrine, about

16 feet square inside, and with a circumambulatory passage about 9½ feet wide all round it. The entrance of the shrine is richly ornamented with sculptured figures, and female statues stand by the pilasters on each side the entrance to the side passages.[1]

The next is a large cave, No. XXVII., known as the Milkmaid's Cave, the plan of which is given on plate xxxv, fig. 4. The front has been supported by six plain octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, but all of them have fallen away except one at the left end and a fragment of one at the right end. The verandah is about 69 feet long by 8 feet 4 inches wide, with several sculptures on the back wall and in the ends. In the walls of the hall three cells are rudely excavated. The carvings are mostly Vaishnava in character, and the arrangement of separating the hall from the verandah by a wall pierced by three doors and two windows is more in keeping with the plan of a Bauddha cave than any of the other Brahmanical caves at Elurâ.

Cave XXIX.—The Dumar Lena or Sîtâ's Châvadi.

This is the most northern of the Brahmanical caves at Elurâ, and certainly one of the finest of the class to be found anywhere. It is also interesting from its being as nearly as may be a duplicate of the celebrated cave at Elephanta, and also of the less known one at Jogéśvari. All three are executed on the same plan, the light being introduced from three sides, which is no small difficulty in cave architecture, but was necessary to produce the effect of the structural buildings from which they were imitated.

This one is the best preserved and largest of the three, but not the earliest, though the Jogéśvari one (plate xlvi) is certainly the most modern, and, except the Kailâsa which is exceptional, is probably the last of the great cave temples of India.

A ground-plan of this splendid cave was given in *Cave Temples*, plate lxxix, and we now add a section (plate xxxvii, fig. 1) through the middle of the cave from north to south, showing the front of the shrine, with the *dwârapâlas* at its corners, and the pillars and sculptures on the east side. It is 148 feet wide by 149 feet deep, and 17 feet 8 inches high.

The description in *Cave Temples*, p. 446 f., gives a succinct account of the details and dimensions of this temple, but to give a full description of all its mythological representations and other sculptures, though these are much fewer in proportion to its size than any other cave temple here, would fill half this volume. Plate xxxviii, fig. 1, represents on a good scale the marriage scene on the east wall of the south portico. The two chief figures are Śiva and Pârvati or Umâ, each with a flower in the left hand; below, to the right, kneeling by the sacrificial fire, is Brahmâ, with three heads, acting as priest; to the left are Menâ and Himâlaya, the mother and father of the bride, with a flower and a cocoa-nut. Above are the gods and goddesses; on the left are—Vishnu mounted on Garuda, Yama on a buffalo, Vâyu or Sôma on a stag, Agni on a goat, and perhaps Varuna; on the right are Indra on Airâvati, and Nirriti on a *makara*. Among the goddesses are probably Ganga—

> "She in her goddess shape divinely tall,
> And Yamunâ, sweet river-nymph, were there,
> Fanning their feet, that fancy still might show
> Swans wi'eel their plumes round each fair side of the Stream."

[1] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 444–445.

"High o'er their heads sweet Beauty's Queen[1] displayed
Upon a stem of reed a cool green shade,
While the young lotus-leaves of which 'twas made
Seemed, as they glistened to the wondering view,
All richly pearled with drops of bendy dew.
In twofold language on each glorious head
The Queen of Speech[2] her richest blessings shed;
In strong, pure, godlike utterance for his ear,
To her in liquid tones, soft, beautifully clear."[3]

Fig. 2 of the same plate represents the left-hand corner of the shrine showing the dwârapâlas with their attendants. At each corner is a similar group, the *mukuṭas* of the guardian figures being very richly carved. At Elephanta these gigantic figures are attended by fat male dwarfs, whereas their companions here are females.

The other sculptures here are arranged as at Elephanta, in the ends of the aisles on the three open sides. But as the shrine occupies the central portion of the back area, there are no sculptures on the walls behind it; whereas at Elephanta, the shrine being in the west side of the cave, the back wall contains the three largest and finest sculptures, viz., the great Trimurti in the centre, Arddhanâri and attendants on the left, and Śiva and Pârvatî with numerous smaller figures on the right. These have no representatives here. In the north verandah, the sculptures correspond to those in the same position at Elephanta, but are greatly inferior in details. In the east end of it is Śiva as a Yogi or ascetic, with a club in his left hand, and seated on a lotus upheld by Nâga figures, with two females worshipping behind each,—an evident copy from the figures of Buddha. None of the accessory figures are represented here which render the Elephanta one so excellent a rendering of Kâlidâsa's poetical description. The panel in the west end is the Tandava dance, said to be performed by Śiva at eventide to the sound of musical instruments, with his hair loose, stamping with frantic energy, attended by his *gaṇa* and Piśâchas, when the dust he raises is put on their heads by the other Dêvatas.[4] The sculpture, however, is very inferior to that on the right of the entrance at Elephanta.

In the west aisle or front of the cave, the panel in the right end is the very frequent one of Râvaṇa under Kailâsa, the white mountain, which is the special abode or heaven of Śiva. The principal figures in this have not the larger proportions than the subordinate ones, which is usually given them in other representations of the same scene,—the finest example of which is to be found under the south porch of the Kailâsa temple, where it is really well represented. In the left or north end is an unfinished sculpture of Bhairava, the terrific form of Śiva, very effectively represented in the Dâs Avatâra (see pl. xxii, fig. 2), and also in the west aisle at Elephanta.

In the south aisle or portico, besides the marriage scene already referred to, is a very common sculpture of Śiva and Pârvatî at play, with numerous gandharvas, &c., above; the bull Nandi and the rollicking dwarfs or Gaṇa below; Vishṇu is represented to the right, and Brahmâ on the left. These two are the best executed of the six great panels.

Outside the cave, on each side, is a tall River goddess and attendants.

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[1] Śrî or Lakshmî.
[2] Sarasvatî.
[3] Griffith's *Birth of the War-God*, pp. 98 and 104.
[4] See Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. i, p. xiv, and vol. ii, pp. 53, 58, 59, 153; Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 153.

CHAPTER VI

THE JAINA CAVES AT ELURÂ.

It may help to illustrate the chronology of Jaina history[1] and its connection with Buddhism to remember that Mahâvira, the last Tîrthankara, was contemporary with Buddha.[2] The following table brings together the dates[3] belonging to both sects:—

		B.C.
Gautama Buddha, born at Kapilavastu	About	460
Śrêṇika Bimbisâra, king of Magadha[4]	,,	510–512
Vardhamâna, Mahâvîra, or Jñâtiputra, born at Chitrakot in Bihâr	,,	510
Gautama became Buddha at Buddhagayâ	,,	525
Vardhamâna became a Digambara ascetic	,,	509
Vardhamâna became an Arhat or Jina	,,	496
Ajâtaśatru, called Kûṇika or Konikâ by the Jains	,,	488–461
Gautama Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*	,,	480
Vardhamâna Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa*[5] at Pâvâ	,,	467
Udayibhadra, Udayâśva, Udâyin, or Udâśin,[6] son of Ajâtaśatru	,,	461–137
Nandivardhana, a new dynasty	,,	107–
Alexander the Great's invasion of India	in	327
Chandragupta founded the Maurya dynasty	,,	318–295
Bindusâra or Vîriśâla, the Amitrokhates of the Greeks[7]	,,	295–267
Aśoka or Priyadarśi, son of Bindusâra	,,	267–226
Samprati, grandson of Aśoka	about	226–217
Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka, Saṅgata, Śâliśuka, Sômaśarman, and Śatadhanvan	,,	217–185
Bṛihadratha, the last of the Mauryas	,,	185–182
Pushyamitra, the first of the Śuṅga dynasty	,,	182–152
Balamitra, Bhânumitra, and Nabovâhana[8]	,,	150–74
Gardabhilla in Ujjain	,,	74–61

[1] For some notes on Jainism see *Cave Temples*, pp. 485 ff.

[2] See S. Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 258.

[3] This is based on an extract from Merutuṅga's *Pṛithvîśvara* in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 362, on Hemachandra's statement (*Parishishṭaparvan*, viii, 341) that Chandragupta became king 155 years after Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*, and on the dates given in *The Cave Temples*, pp. 24–26.

[4] The Ceylon chronicles assign to Bimbisâra the long reign of fifty-two years, and state that he was murdered by his son Ajâtaśatru, while both the *Vâyu* and *Matsya Puranas* agree in giving twenty-eight years to his rule, and after him the *Matsya* inserts the names of Kâṇvâyana (with nine years) and Bhûmimitra or Bhûmipatra (with fourteen years), which fill up the interval. Bimbisâra's name is given as Vidhisâra in the *Vishṇu P.*, as Vidhiśâra in the *Bhâgavat*. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* (2d. ed.) vol. ii, p. 849, and *addenda* p. xxxvii. For Śrêṇika or Śreṇya, conf. *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx, p. 46; Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. Buddh. Ind.*, pp. 128, 147.

[5] The Jaina chronicles give only 108 years to the Maurya dynasty and places Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa* 155 years before Chandragupta's accession, thus giving 312 B.C. (the Śvetâmbara era) for the latter event. This is about six years from our usual reckoning, but Merutuṅga and other writers add sixty for the reign of Pâlaka: if we regard this as a mistake for six, the dates relating to Mahâvîra here will be thrown back six years—his death to 473 B.C., just 155 years before Chandragupta (318 B.C.), and add six to the 108 years of the Maurya dynasty, to which the *Puranas*, however, assign 137.

[6] According to the *Vâyu Purâṇa* and the Jaina and Buddhist accounts, he founded Pâṭaliputra, and ruled, according to the *Puranas*, thirty-three years; but both place Dâmodara, Harshaka or Vaṁśaka between Ajâtaśatru and him, with a reign of twenty-four or twenty-five years. The Buddhists assign to Ajâtaśatru, thirty-two years; to Udayibhadra, sixteen; to Munda, eight; and to Nâgadâsaka, twenty-four in succession.—Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. Buddh. Ind.*, p. 319; *Mahâvaṁsa*, c. iv.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. ii, pp. 222–1207.

[7] Athenæus, xiv, 67; Strabo, *Geog.* II., i, 9. [8] These were probably kings of Ujjain and not of Magadha.

The Jaina caves at Ellorâ form almost a group by themselves separated from the Dumar Lena, the most northerly of the Brahmanical caves, by about 400 yards. The group is a small one, consisting of only five caves, two of them unfinished, but the two principal ones are very extensive works.

The first of them, removed a short distance from the face of the scarp, which at the place is very low, is known as the Chhotâ Kailâsa, from the circumstance that, like the great Brahmanical temple, it is not a cave, but a free-standing monolithic shrine, executed in the middle of a pit hewn out of the rock. It is very much smaller, however, than the great Kailâsa temple, being only one storey in height, with a very stunted and unfinished tower. The hall is only 36 feet 4 inches square, but, like its pattern, has sixteen pillars arranged in four groups; and the shrine at the back is small.

The second also stands in a pit, into which the porch projects, but the hall, quite unfinished, is under the rock. This temple is filled up with earth.[1]

The Indra Sabhâ.

The two principal Jaina caves are very extensive works, superior both in extent and elaboration to any of the Brahmanical caves, excepting of course the Kailâsa, and the Viśvakarma among the Bandilha ones. Though two storeys in height and extremely rich in decoration, the Indra and Jagannâth Sabhâs are entirely deficient in that purpose-like architectural expression which characterised the works of the two earlier religions. They have no cells, like the vihâras, and are nothing like the Chaitya halls of the Buddhists, nor do they suggest the Châvadis, like the Dumar Lena, of the Hindus. Rich and elaborate though they certainly are, the plan is compressed, and all their arrangements seem to result more from accident than to have arisen from any well-conceived design, so that they lose half the effect that might have been produced with far less elaboration of detail.

Their age, too, is certainly considerably subsequent to that of the caves belonging to the two other sects, as if, after the decadence of the Râthod dynasty[2] in the ninth or tenth century, the Jainas had taken possession of the locality and determined to mark the superiority of their religion, which was then becoming so important, by attempting to rival the works of their predecessors. Had they had any real motive in what they did they might have succeeded in this, but the absence of purpose is so evident in all they did that their failure was inevitable.

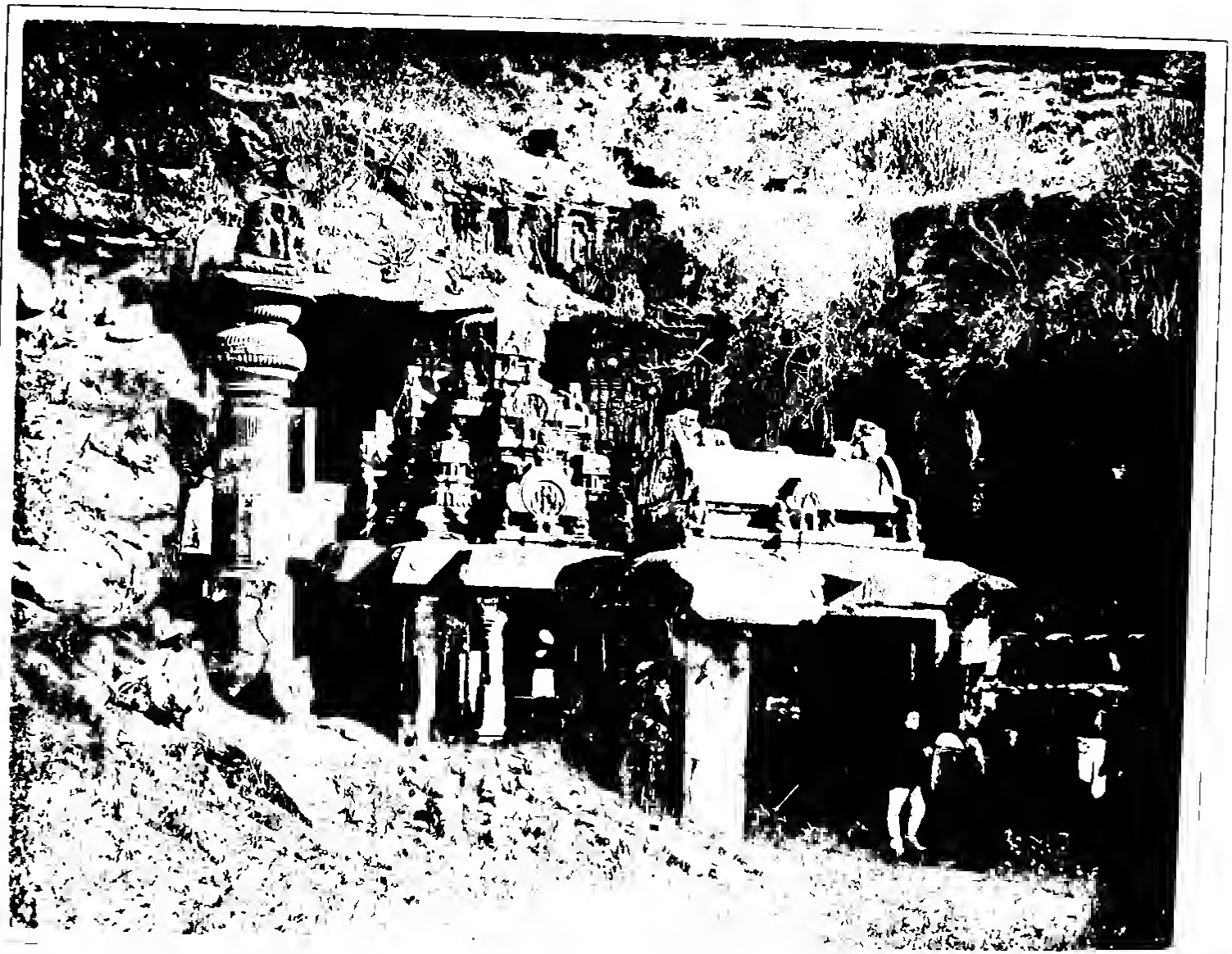
The Indra Sabhâ, as explained in the *Cave Temples*, is, like Kailâsa, rather a group of caves than a single one, consisting of a central two-storeyed cave with a court in front and smaller caves forming wings on each side. The plans of both floors have been given in *The Cave Temples* (plates lxxxvii and lxxxviii), and need not be repeated here. But on plate xxxvii, fig. 2, is given a longitudinal section of the cave, which, together with the plans, may enable the reader to form a tolerably accurate idea of its arrangements and architectural style.

The cave faces the south, and outside the court on the east side is a small hall 19 feet by 13 feet, with a low screen wall and two pillars in front, square below and octagonal above, including the capitals. In the ends of this are the favourite sculptures of Pârśvanâtha's temptation[3] and the *tapas* or asceticism of Gautama Rishi or Gomatêśvara.

[1] For further details, see *Cave Temples*, pp. 495, 496.

[2] The Râshtrakûta kingdom seems to have been divided in the time of Govinda III, when his younger brother, Indra, established a separate kingdom of Gujarât, about the very end of the eighth century.

[3] *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxvi, and p. 496.



A screen wall, left in the rock, terminates the court on the south side, and is pierced by a doorway with a Dravidian roof. This court is about 56 feet inside from north to south and 48 feet across. In it stands an elephant on the right side, about 15 feet high, inclusive of the pedestal; a fine monolithic column[1] 27 feet 4 inches high, which fell over against the side rock about eight years ago; and a small mandapa analogous to the Nandi mandapas in front of Śaiva temples. This is about 8 feet 5 inches square inside, raised by eight steps above the level of the court, with a door on each side, but only with ascents from the north and south sides; each door has two advanced pillars. The roof, as may be seen from the section and the plan of it (plate xl, fig. 1), is Dravidian in style. Inside this room is left a square block of rock, on each side of which is carved a figure of Mahâvîra, one of the Tîrthankaras, with the wheel in front of the seat supported by lions.

The accompanying autotype plate vi is a view taken in 1874, before the monolithic column in the west side of the court fell over, and shows the gateway, the mandapa in the court and the pillar, with portions of the façade behind them.

Exclusive of the verandah, the lower hall must have been intended to be about 72 feet wide by 56 feet deep, beyond which are two free-standing pillars and two in antis in front of the vestibule to the shrine, 40 feet wide and 15 deep, inclusive of the pillars. The shrine alone has been completed, and is 17½ feet wide by 13 feet deep, containing a Mahâvîra seated cross-legged on a lion-throne, with the wheel or *chakra* in front, which is one of his emblems with the Digambara Jainas, to whom these cave temples have belonged.

The stair ascends in the verandah, and lands in the east end of the verandah of the great hall above. This upper hall, exclusive of the verandah, from which it is only separated by a low parapet wall, measures 55 feet deep by 78 feet wide. The verandah is about 54 feet long and 10 feet wide. In each end is a colossal image, the male (*Cave Temples*, plate xci, fig. 1) in the west, and the female in the east, usually known as Indra and Indrânî, the former being seated on an elephant and the latter on a lion, with a tree behind the head of each, and small figures of attendants beside them. These figures are perhaps the Yaksha and Yakshinî or Śâsanadêvi, the instructors of the Tîrthankara to whom the temple is dedicated. Each Jina or Tîrthankara, like each Buddha, has his sacred tree; but he has also his Śâsanadêva and Dêvî, his principal male disciple or follower, and chief of his female followers. These are very shadowy creations, and it would be difficult to find anywhere among the numerous temples of the sect, with all their exuberance of images, representations of the forty-eight male and female Śâsanas or Yakshas that could be distinguished from one another. Neminâtha, the 22d Jina in their books, has the Vetasa for his tree; but at Mount Girnâr the mango (*Ambâ*) takes its place; his instructor or Yaksha is Gomedha, and his Yakshinî Ambikâ;[2] Pârśvanâtha, the 23d, has the Dhâtakî (*Grislea tomentosa*) for his tree, and Pârśvayaksha and Padmâvatî for his instructors; and Mahâvîra, the 24th and last Jina, has the Śâla (*Shorea robusta*)[3] as his consecration tree, and Mâtanga[4] and Siddhâyikâ as his attendant divinities. But that the figures at the ends of this verandah, and so frequent in the other caves here and at Ankâî, Pâtna, and elsewhere, represent a pair of these divinities is doubtful. They are always represented on the same

[1] For drawing see *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxx, fig. 2.

[2] Such a Jina is recorded in Gujarât as a mother goddess, and has a temple on the summit of Mount Girnâr, which is sacred to Neminâtha.

[3] This is also the Dhâtakî tree of Ajitanâtha and Sumatinâtha, the 2d and 5th Tîrthankaras.

[4] He is mentioned as the Yaksha to Supârśvanâtha, the 7th Tîrthankara.

animals, and the male is probably meant for Indra, who plays as great a rôle in the Jaina as in Bauddha mythological literature, being an interested listener to the teaching of the Jinas;[1] and the female might be his consort, the voluptuous Śachî or Indrâni,[2] but it is much more probably meant for Ambikâ, whose proper vehicle is a tiger or lion, and who is a special favourite among the Jainas.

Behind each of these figures, but entered from the side aisles of the hall, is a small room about 9 feet by 11, by which access is obtained to the shrines on each side of the front area. A few steps lead down from each side room into a smaller one, carved all round with Jaina figures, at the ends of the verandahs of these side shrines. On the east the verandah has two pillars in front and two behind, rising from low parapet or screen walls, with Ambikâ in the south end facing the entrance, at the right side of which Indra is represented with a bag in his left hand and a cocoa-nut in his right, exactly like the figures we find in the shrines of the Bauddha caves facing the principal images. The hall is about 25 feet wide by 23½ feet deep, the roof supported by four square pillars with round capitals. On each side is a deep recess; in that on the right is a naked figure of Gomaṭêśvara, a favourite with the Digambara Jains, and of whom several gigantic figures exist in the Canarese country.[3] He is always represented with creeping plants twining themselves round his limbs, snakes coming out of ant-hills at his feet, his hair falling over his shoulders, and attended by worshippers. In the corresponding recess on the left is Pârśvanâtha, also nude, and with attendant figures.[4] In smaller recesses are figures of Mahâvira seated cross-legged; on pilasters at each side the shrine door are nude Jaina dwârapâlas; the architraves are carved with numerous small figures; and on the throne inside is a cross-legged Mahâvira

Another door in the south-west corner of the great hall has a four-armed Dêvî on the right side, and below, on the left, a figure of Sarasvati, eight-armed, with a peacock. Passing through a small room and down a few steps with sculptures on each side, we enter the verandah, a small hall similar to that just described. Ambikâ is seated at the right side of the steps, and a Dêvî opposite to her, four-armed, with two round discs or flowers in her uplifted hands, and something very like a *vajra* in her left upon the knee. Indra is seated in the west end of the verandah facing the entrance. A figure of Mahâvira occupies the shrine and several compartments in the walls. In deep recesses again Pârśvanâtha is placed on the left, and Gomaṭêśvara on the right side of the hall, which is very similar in plan to the one on the east side, but the four central pillars are more elaborately and sharply carved after the pattern of those in the great hall. The two on the inner screen have sixteen sides, and also correspond to those on the screen in the great hall. One of these is represented on plate xxxix, fig. 3, and the carving on the members of the corresponding pilaster in fig. 4. Pairs of figures in dalliance fill the compartments of the low inner screen. On the ceiling are some fragments of painting in this room.

The façade of this side cave is shown in the accompanying plate vii, the greater part

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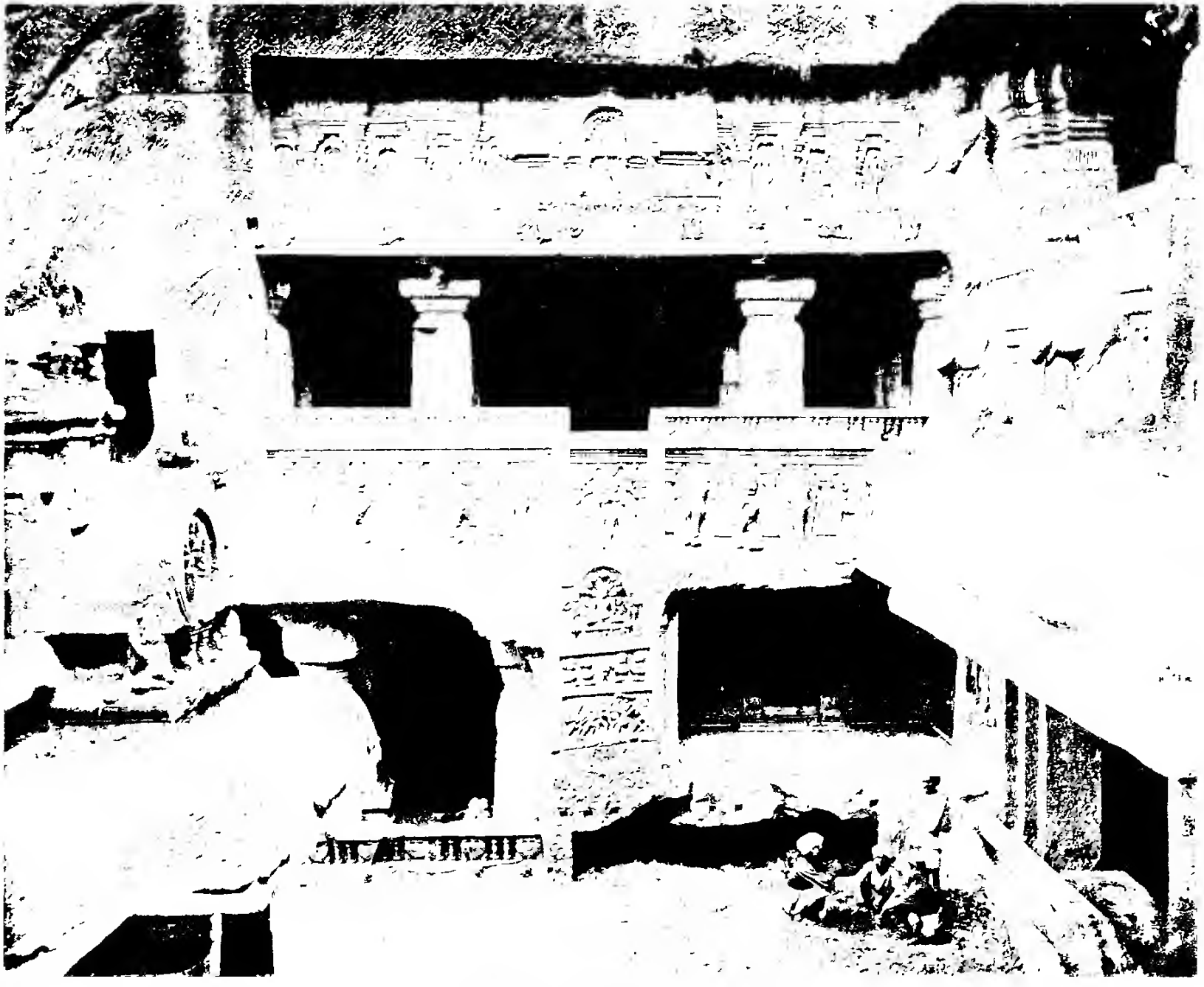
[1] The *Satrunjaya Mahâtmya*, for example, is a relation made to Indra, at his own urgent desire, by Mahâvira

[2] Her name does not occur in the list of the twenty-four Śrâvakâs of the Jains.

[3] *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii, pp. 129, 353; vol. v, p. 37. An inscription on the Kârkala statue, however, calls it an image of Bâhubalin, who was the second son of Rishabhanâtha, the first Tîrthankara. See also *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. i, pl. xxxvii, and p. 25.

[4] See a representation of one of these figures of Pârśvanâtha in *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxvi.



of it being covered with sculpture in an exceedingly good state of preservation. The right half of the rock below is excavated in two storeys and the left in one, and between the upper of the two on the right and the one on the left is a vertical belt of carving; at the bottom of it is represented a fight, in which over three prostrate bodies other three are contending with four. Over this is a smaller panel, in which two females kneel on the left and two males on the right of a sort of stool. And over this again is a figure of Pârśvanâtha seated cross-legged on a *sinhâsana* or lion-throne, with the wheel in front, a small worshipper at the right corner, a *chauri*-bearer with high cap on each side, and the great seven-hooded snake behind him canopying his head. Above on the left is an object that may be intended to represent a structural chaitya or a dâgoba.

The lowest storey on the right has lately been cleaned of earth, and has two neat pillars in front (plate xxxviii, fig. 2). On the back wall are figures of Indra and Ambikâ, both particularly well cut, and in good preservation when excavated. Pârśvanâtha occupies the left end, and Gomaṭêśvara the right, with deer and dogs at his feet; farther back and seated cross legged is a Tirthankara. In the shrine is Mahâvîra with *chauri*-bearers, a triple umbrella and foliage behind the head. Over this is another chapel with Pârśvanâtha on the left side, two small cross legged Tirthankaras on the upper half of the right side, Indra and Ambikâ in recesses on each side the shrine door, and a Jina inside with *chauri*-bearers seated cross-legged on a *sinhâsana* with the wheel in front. In this chapel Gômaṭêśvara is carved at the front between it and the façade of the principal cave.

To the left (west) of these two, and nearly as high as both together, is a hall about 30 feet wide by 25 deep, having a screen wall in front, over which rises a pillar on each side the entrance. The upper part of this screen, which, as in temples of the tenth to twelfth centuries, forms the back of a seat inside, is carved with water-vases in small panels, each separated by two colonnettes, and the lower portion, like that of the upper storey, is carved with elephants' heads separated by slender pilasters, and each playing with or feeding on flowers: it differs only in height from the one above and in no *śârdûlas* being represented. Inside are four pillars with high square bases and cushion capitals, the front ones only having much carving. In the central compartment on the west wall is Pârśvanâtha,[1] with female *chhatri*-bearer, the snake behind him overshadowing his head with its hoods, and at his feet two Nâgânis and two richly dressed worshippers, while round him are numerous demons trying to disturb his meditations, as the emissaries of Mâra attacked Buddha.[2] In the next compartment is a repetition of the same on a smaller scale, with a cross-legged Jina above.

On the east wall Gômaṭêśvara is represented in the central compartment with deer and perhaps a dog at his feet, and female attendants (plate xli, fig. 3). Above him are Gandharvas, one with a large drum just over the umbrella and others with cymbals and garlands. In the compartment to the right of this is a smaller Pârśvanâtha, and in that to the left a standing figure half split off, with figures of deer, makara, elephant, ram, &c., by the sides. Above it is a small cross-legged Jina, and on the back wall were Indra and Ambikâ, now much defaced, with an ascetic bearing a *chhatri* and holding up one hand to her left. Two still Jaina dwârapâlas guard the shrine door, inside which is a Jina on a *sinhâsana* with the wheel in front. He has two attendants and triple umbrella, with Gandharvas making music to him and bearing garlands.

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxv.

[2] *Cave Temples*, pp. 328, 370, and pl. h.

The façade over these rooms, forming a parapet in front of the hall above, has a compartment in the centre carved with a male and female, attended by two smaller females, each holding the stalk of a flower; at the sides are pilasters bearing *makaras* holding a *toraṇa* (plate vii). On each side the wall is divided by small pilasters into panels, containing alternately an elephant's head playing with, or feeding on, flowers, and a rampant *śárdúla* trampling on a small elephant. Above this is a frieze of water-jars. Above the hall a drip projects covered with floral carving, flying figures in twos and threes, and curious little dwarfs hanging over with garlands. The next moulding is carved with numerous animals, but somewhat weatherworn; and over it is a broad frieze, broken vertically by pilasters into representations of little shrines, each containing a figure; Indra in the centre on the left and Ambikâ on the right, with Gômaṭêśvara, Pârśvanâtha, and other Jinas in the remaining panels. The middle portion, representing the side of a building with an arched roof upheld by four kneeling figures, has a Jina seated cross-legged on the side, and another in a chaitya-window shaped recess just above him. Over this again the rock projects a little, and has served to preserve the sharpness of this sculpture.

Returning to the great hall, the section on plate xxxvii shows to some extent the variety in the patterns of the pillars supporting its roof, and of the arrangement of the sculptures on the walls. The pillars in the central hall are of five different patterns: two in the front and two in the back row are illustrated on plate xxxviii, fig. 3; the two middle columns on each side in fig. 1, with which is also shown the bracket above and the architrave; and the corner pillars are of the style represented in fig. 4. The four columns separating the verandah from the area of the hall are shown on plate xxxix, fig. 1, and those in the front of the verandah in fig. 2.

In the centre of each side wall, occupying a large compartment, is a Jina seated cross-legged on a throne, with the wheel, elephants' heads, and lions carved in front of it, and with two elephants below; like Buddha, he is attended by two *chauri*-bearers and a pair of Vidyádharas above, with aureole, triple umbrella, and sacred tree. On each of the other areas, between pilasters, are two smaller figures of Jinas on *simhásanas*, and usually with small figures blowing conch-shells, between their trees. On the front of each pillar before the shrine, and also on the corresponding pilasters on each side, are tall nude male figures, some of them much injured. The ceiling has a large lotus in the centre, and still retains a good deal of painting, though somewhat smoked.[1] The door of the shrine is represented on plate lxxxix of *The Cave Temples*.

The Jagannâth Sabhâ.

The second large Jaina cave in this group is known as the Jagannâth Sabhâ,[2] and is so close to the Indra Sabhâ that the wall of the west wing of the upper floor of the latter has been broken through into a cell on the east side of the upper floor of the Jagannâth Sabhâ. The court of this cave, however, is much smaller than that of the last, hardly 38 feet square, and has contained some structural erections now entirely destroyed. The plan of the ground-floor with the small cave to the west of it is given on plate xc, fig. 1, of the *Cave Temples*, and that of the upper floor, together with the west shrine of the Indra Sabhâ, on fig. 2; and on plate xcii, fig. 3, is given a drawing of one of the pillars in the lower hall, while fig. 1 represents the style of those in the upper hall.

[1] For further details see *Cave Temples*, pp. 496–500.

[2] *Cave Temples*, pp. 500, 501, and plates xc and xcii, figs. 1 and 3.

The approach to the upper floor has been very clumsily planned—probably it was quite forgotten at first, and afterwards inserted—at the right corner of the court, where a rude stair leads up to the right corner of the great hall, which is 57 feet wide by 44 feet deep, and varying in height from 13 feet 1 inches in the front aisle to 14½ feet in parts of the central area. Twelve massive pillars arranged round an oblong central area support the roof, and two in front with a low connecting parapet wall and corresponding pilasters, form three openings in 38 feet to light the interior. This arrangement, which is followed with slight modifications in all the Elurâ caves, renders them much lighter than the plan adopted in the Ajaṇṭâ, Nâsik, Kudâ, and other Buddha caves. Outside, the parapet is sculptured with a large elephant head at each end and in front of each pillar, with smaller figures of human beings in the central division, and of animals in the two side divisions; and over them is a rail of small colonnettes and flower jars, the body of each of the latter being carved with human and other figures. The front of the drip above has been carved with forty little *gaṇa*, and other sculptures above them, now much weather-worn. Over this, but removed back a few feet, are the decayed remains of a frieze richly sculptured with elephants, *makaras*, human figures, &c.

The lower floor of this is on the model of that of the Indra Sabhâ, but is much smaller, and has been finished, whereas in the latter case the pillars are little more than blocked out and the side aisles hardly commenced. This hall is only about 24 feet square and 13½ feet high, with four pillars in the floor, and having in front a narrow verandah with two square pillars on the screen wall. This parapet has been finished only on the left of the entrance with elephant heads below and water-jars above, while the carving on the portion to the right of the entrance has only been begun along the upper portion.

One of the front pillars to the left of the entrance, with a portion of the screen wall, is represented on plate XXXVIII, fig. 3.

Two more pillars on a low partition separate the verandah from the hall, which has two recesses—one on the left side containing the usual standing figure of Pârśvanâtha with the snake-hoods over him and attendant figures, and another on the right side containing the corresponding figure of Gômaṭêśvara and attendants, all remarkably sharply cut. Figures of Jinas seated cross-legged fill the other six wall areas between the pilasters. In the verandah Indra occupies the left or west end, and Ambikâ the right or east end. The shrine is entered through a small antechamber with a fine *toraṇa* arch over the entrance; it is about 9 feet by 7, and 10 feet 8 inches high, with a cross-legged figure of Mahâvîra on the throne. The drip over the entrance has not been carved, and large pieces have fallen out of it.

The hall on the left side of the court is about 27 feet square and 12 feet high, with a shrine 9½ feet by 8½, and 9 feet 1½ inches high, and on each side of it is a cell, the left one breaking into the next cave. This and the breaking into the cell at the left end of the upper storey of the recess on the right of this hall may perhaps indicate that it was forced in here after the others were completed.

On the other side of the court are two other small chapels, the walls of which are covered with Jaina sculpture.

Cave XXXIV.

The last of the series of caves, joins close on to the Jagannâth Sabhâ, and has been broken into by the hall on the west side of the court of the latter. The verandah in front

has been quite destroyed except a small fragment of the left end. The back wall of it has two pilasters, and is pierced by a door and two windows. The hall is 20½ feet wide by about 22 feet deep, and is 9 feet 8 inches high, with four pillars in it, and corresponding pilasters on the wall. One of the pillars is given in plate xl, fig. 4. All the spaces between the pilasters on the walls are covered with rich sculpture.[1]

The colossal figure of Pârśvanâtha on the other side of the ridge is described in *The Cave Temples* (p. 502), where a translation of the inscription upon it, dated 3rd Phâlguna sudi Ś 1156, corresponding to Wednesday, Feb. 21, A.D. 1235, will also be found. It records the dedication of this image by one Chakrêśwara of (*Va*)ṛddhanâpura.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAVES AT BÂDÂMI AND AIHOLE.

In *The Cave Temples* (pp. 404–416) and in the first volume of these *Reports*[2] the Brahmanical and Jaina caves at Bâdâmi and Aiholé, in the Kalâdgi district, were illustrated in considerable detail. The discovery of the date of the finest of them also supplied an important datum for the settlement of the chronology of these works. Little need here be added to the details there given, but, extensive as is the illustration in the first *Report*, it falls far short of representing the full sculptured wealth of these caves, and I now add a ground-plan showing the whole group of caves at Bâdâmi (plate xli, fig. 2). The ascent is from the Śaiva Cave No. I., at the west corner of the scarp, to Caves II. and III., which are Vaishnava. Beyond them, and accessible from below, is the Jaina Cave No. IV.

Round the upper part of the walls, over the pillars in front and back of the verandah in Cave II., is a frieze containing a belt of sculpture only 10 inches broad, in which the figures are crowded together so as to represent a considerable chapter of mythology. This is given on plate viii, where figs. 1–3 represent the portion on the inside of the front wall, and figs. 4–8 that on the back. It would be needless describing these scenes in detail; those acquainted with Hindu mythology will make them out. They begin with Vishnu sleeping on Śêsha, with the lotus springing from his navel bearing a very small Brahmâ; in the first half of fig. 2 is Śrî, his consort, bathed by elephants, &c., with Vishnu mounted on Garuda, Indra on the elephant Airâvati, and other gods to the left; and well to the right Chandî destroying Mahishâsura. The next compartment is the churning of the ocean by the gods and Asuras, and the horse Uchchaihśravas, one of the products of the operation.[3] The end section (fig. 3) represents a battle. Fig. 5, on the left end of the back wall, hardly seems connected with the others;[4] figs. 5, 6, 7 apparently relate to the history of Krishna.[5]

On the rock outside Cave I., the Śaiva Cave, is sculptured a figure of Śiva performing

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, pl. xci, fig. 2, for a drawing of one compartment.

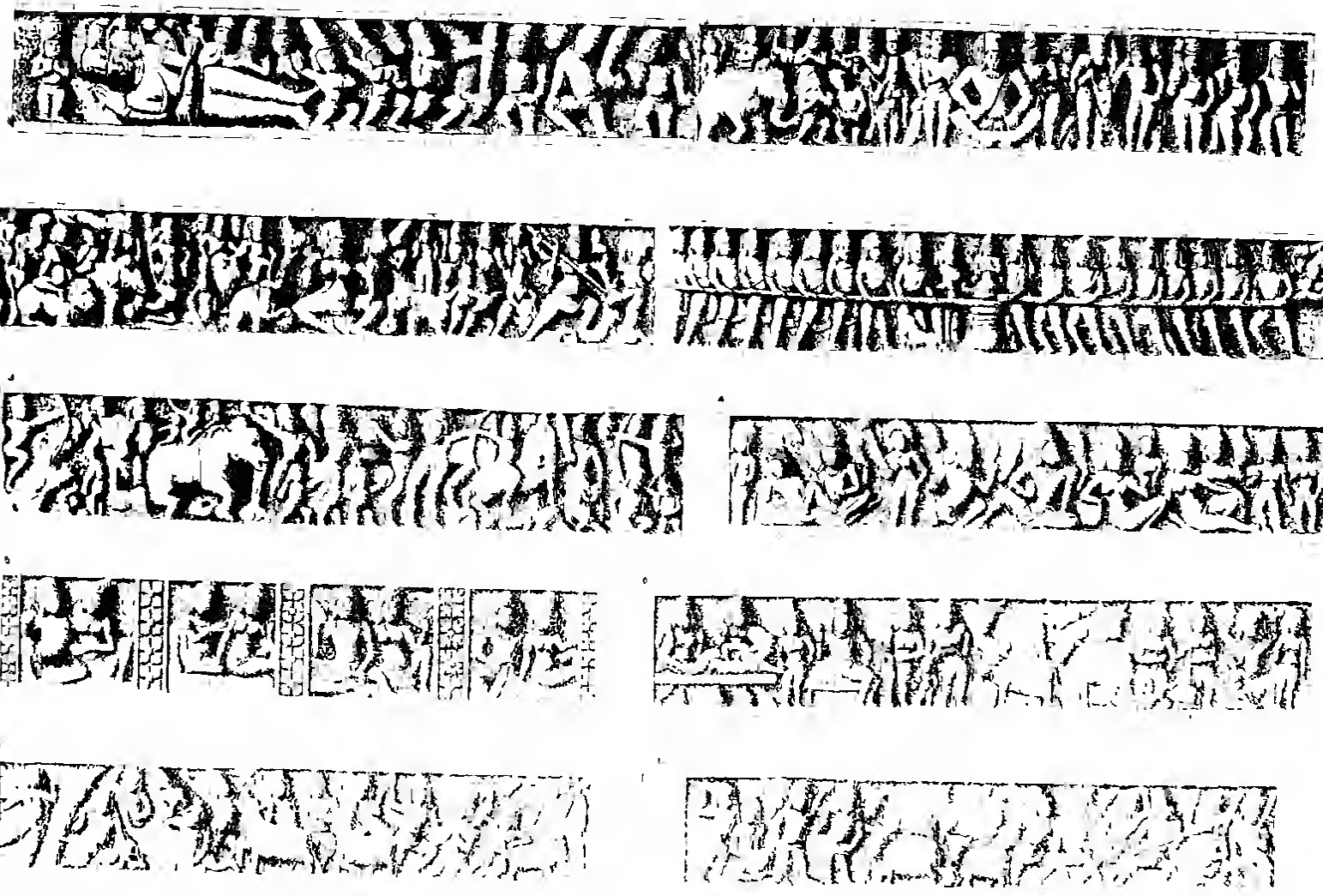
[2] *Report on the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts* (1874), pp. 15–28, 37–40, and plates xvii to xxxvii and xlviii to l. In the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 354–366, will also be found an account of the sculptures, illustrated by seven plates.

[3] See *Reports*, vol. iii, *On Badu and Aunundabad*, p. 17.

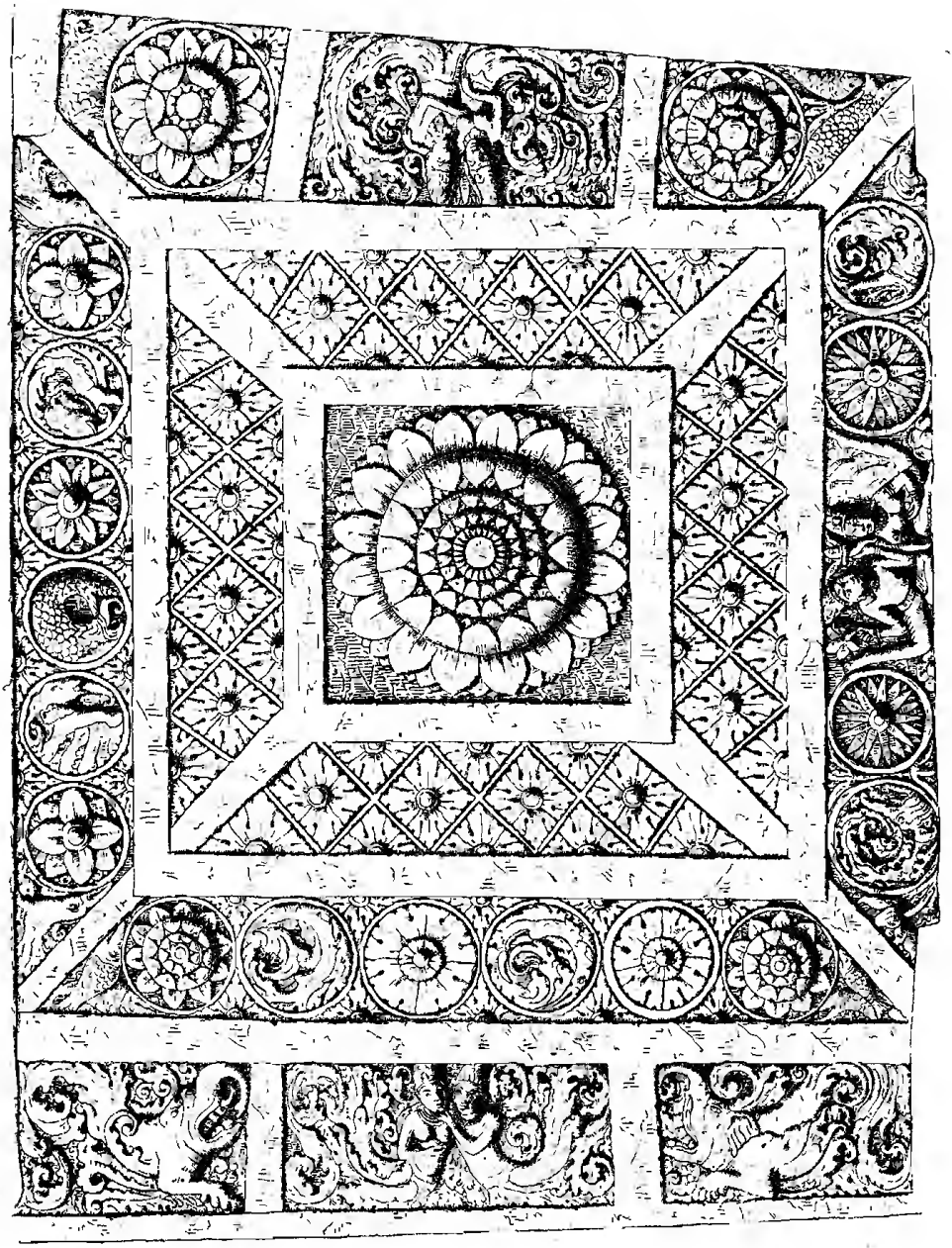
[4] Portions of these sculptures are very similar to some of those on the pillars of the temple of Virûpâksha at Pattadkal. Unfortunately, they are not labelled with the names of the actors, as is the case on one pillar there, where the war of Râma with the Râkshasas is represented.—See *Reports*, vol. i, p. 32.

[5] The principal sculptures, which are Vaishnava, have been described in vol. i, *ut sup.*

BADAMI.–FRIEZE IN THE VERANDAH OF CAVE II



AIHOLE:-CEILING OF THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE.



Scale of 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

J. Burgess, *H. Cousens. del.*

the *Tâṇḍava* dance on a lotus, figured with the very unusual number of eighteen arms (plate xli, fig 3), and attended by Nandî, Ganêśa, and Nârada.[1]

In the great Cave No. III. is a frieze very similar in subject to that in Cave II., only the band is 14 inches high, and being of much greater length, the twenty compartments of varying lengths, extending to over 120 feet in all. Of this, about half is represented on plate xlii. In the central portion of fig. 1 is Śrî bathed by the heavenly elephants; to the right is Narasiṁha, the lion avatâra, tearing up Hiraṇyakaśipu, and on the left Vishṇu on Garuḍa, engaged in combat with a *dêva* in a chariot. In No. 2 Vishṇu again appears in the centre on Garuḍa, and to the right again contending with Indra in fight.[2] A battle-scene occupies No. 3. In No. 4 Garuḍa appears carrying off the jar of *Amṛita*, the water of life, from the Asuras, and to the left protecting it. In No. 5 it is perhaps Râhu who appears to the right of the jar; Śiva leans on Nandî, and Garuḍa is flying from the left. No. 6 represents the churning of the ocean, and Nos. 7 and 8 seem to be the scenes preparatory to that undertaking, the gods, mostly four-armed, figuring prominently as if in consultation. The other scenes[3] closely resemble those in Cave II. In one of them is Kṛishṇa upholding the mountain Govardhana over the flocks of Vraj, a scene also represented in the Kailâsa temple at Elurâ and at Mahâvallipuram.[4]

The AIHOLE caves are only two—one Brahmanical and one Jaina, and have been described in the first of these *Reports*[5] and in *The Cave Temples*.[6] The Brahmanical shrine, though very small and much injured by Jogis living in it, is so rich in sculpture that a few specimens may be here added. Plate ix represents the roof of the small hall, and with the other examples from the neighbouring Jaina cave, figured on plate xlix of the *Report* on the Belgaum and Kalâdgi districts, and that of the Jaina cave at Ankâi given in this volume (plate l, fig. 1) are almost the only examples yet found of an attempt to reproduce by carving in relief the forms we have become so familiar with in painting at Ajantâ and elsewhere. These too may have been originally enriched by the addition of colour, though it was hardly required—the relief of the carving being quite sufficient for ornamental effect, and its greater permanency had much to recommend it. Barring a curious irregularity in the setting out, and which is owing to the shape of the room, the selection of the ornaments in this ceiling is judicious and elegant, and their arrangement is sufficiently varied, without confusion, to render it one of the most pleasing specimens of a Hindu ceiling we are acquainted with. It is so at least till we come to the elaborately constructed ceilings of the temples at Baroli and Mount Abu,[7] which belong to a later age and different style of architecture. This ceiling, however, is interesting as a first attempt at a style of decoration that afterwards gave rise to some of the most beautiful forms of Hindu architecture.

Plate xliii, fig. 2, represents Hara or Śiva with only two arms, the *paraśu, marku*, or battle-axe by his left side, and the *triśûla* at his right, holding a snake in his hand, while another twines round the *paraśu*, and wearing the crescent moon on his *mukuṭa*

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[1] For a sketch of the sculpture of Anthamûrtêsvara in this cave, see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 359, and plate.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 365, and plates, where the figures should be arranged as follows: 2d plate, 4th, 5th, and 2d lines; 1st plate, 8th, 6th, 7th, and 2d lines.

[3] *Cave Temples*, pp. 119, 460.

[4] Vol. i, pp. 37–39, and plates xlviii to l.

[5] Pp. 101, and 191, 492.

[6] Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. ii, pp. 708, 733, &c.

This is in the north or left corner at the back of the hall. In the right-hand corner is the group represented in fig. 1, of Śiva, four-armed, without symbols, but holding a triple lock of his hair on each side, with Pârvatî at his left hand and Bhṛingi, his Sannyâsi attendant, at his right. Below are four *gaṇa*. But the peculiarity of this group is in the three goddesses that rise from a cloud in the shape of a large shell on the *mukuṭa*. The Gaṅgâ river is fabled to flow from Śiva's hair, and the three heads perhaps represent the river goddesses of the three principal streams, which the Hindûs regard as forming their sacred river, viz., the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, and the Sarasvatî,[1] the junction at Allahâbâd being called *Triveṇi*—"triple braid." This triad of river goddesses was doubtless once painted—Gaṅgâ, the daughter of Himâlaya, would be white; Yamunâ, the daughter of Sûrya, on her left, blue; and Sarasvatî, on Gaṅgâ's right, would be red.

In the ends of the antechamber leading into the shrine are two sculptures, one (fig. 3) of Varâha, the boar form of Vishnu bearing Pṛithivî or Bhûmidêvî, the earth, on his left hands, holding the *chakra* or discus in one of the right hands, and with the *śaṅkh* figured in the upper right corner, while a Nâga and Nâgini are shown below, perhaps representing Hiraṇyâksha,[2] who had dragged off the earth, and his consort. On the opposite side is a pretty entire figure of Durgâ as Mahishamardini (fig. 4), which may be compared with other figures of the same goddess elsewhere. In the left chapel, off the hall, is the Tândava dance represented in fig. 5, where Śiva has ten arms.

CHAPTER VIII.

JÒGÊŚVARI OR AMBOLI AND LONAD.

The large cave known as Jògêśvari, near Amboli, in Salsette, was described in the *Cave Temples* (pp. 475–477), but without any illustration. The ground-plan is now given on plate xliv, showing its general resemblance to the Dumar Lena at Elurâ and the great Elephanta cave,[3] while there are also marked differences perhaps indicative of the later date of this example. The great hall, which is about 94 feet each way, has twenty columns arranged in a square as in the Buddhist vihâras, and in the centre of this stands the shrine, scarcely 17 feet square inside. Being constructed under a low rocky knoll, and lighted only by what comes in through three doors and two windows in the back wall of the front verandah, with some slight addition from the side doors, it is much darker inside than any of the Elurâ caves, and the drainage running into it from the sides, it must always have been a very damp temple during the rains. Now it stands deep in water for months after they cease.

There is no sculpture on the inner walls, as at Elephanta and the Dumar Lena, though the pillars are of the Elephanta type. The doors and windows in the verandah have mouldings round them, and panels above filled with small groups. The verandah in front is 117 feet long by 15 wide, and an irregular open court has been excavated before it, with two water cisterns, on the plan of the neighbouring caves at Kanheri, and also a small shrine and another room. Two narrow passages have also been cut through the rock into the east end

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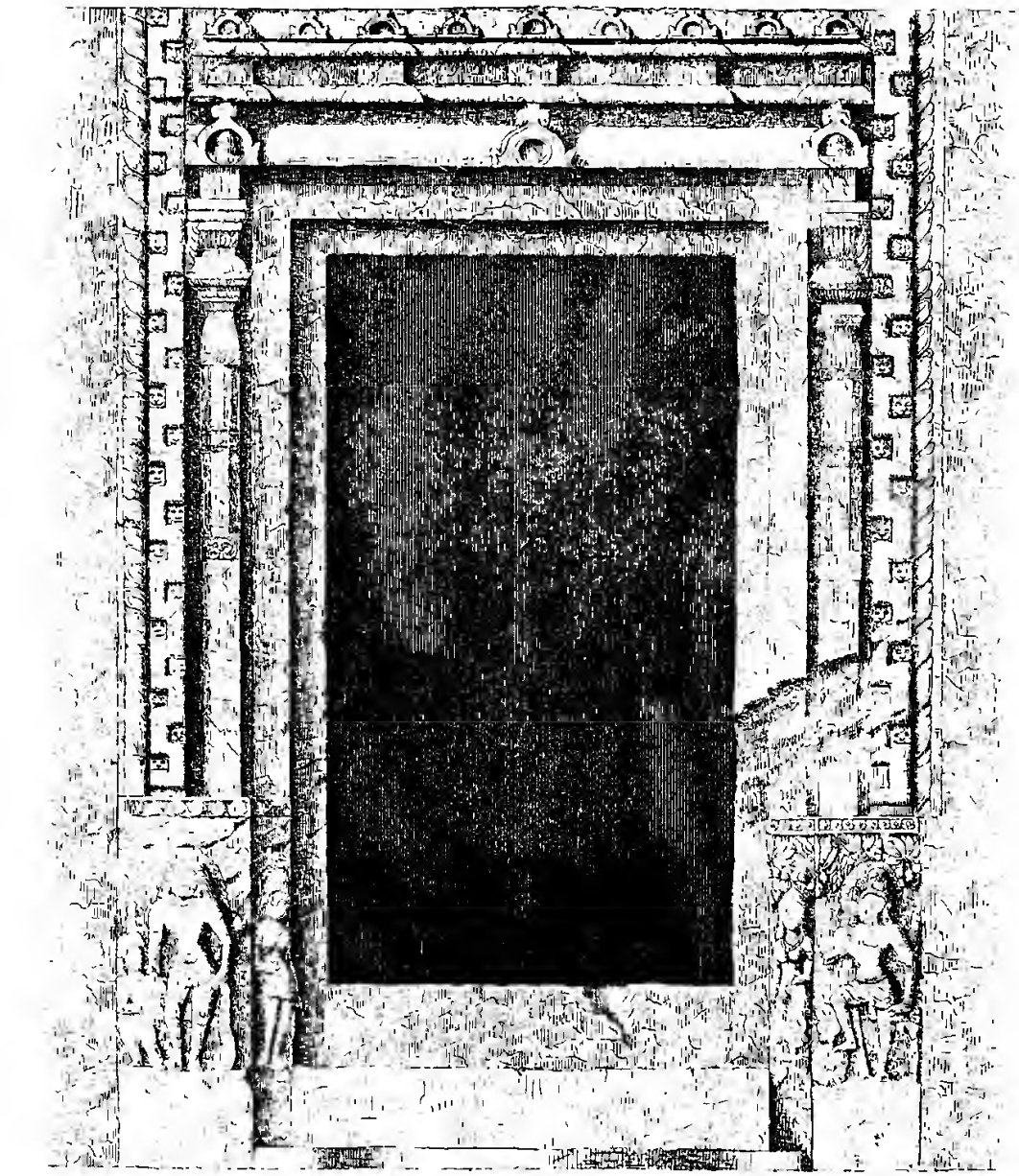
[1] Ante, p. 34. A similar way of representing this triad is to be found at Elephanta. See my *Elephanta*, § 11.

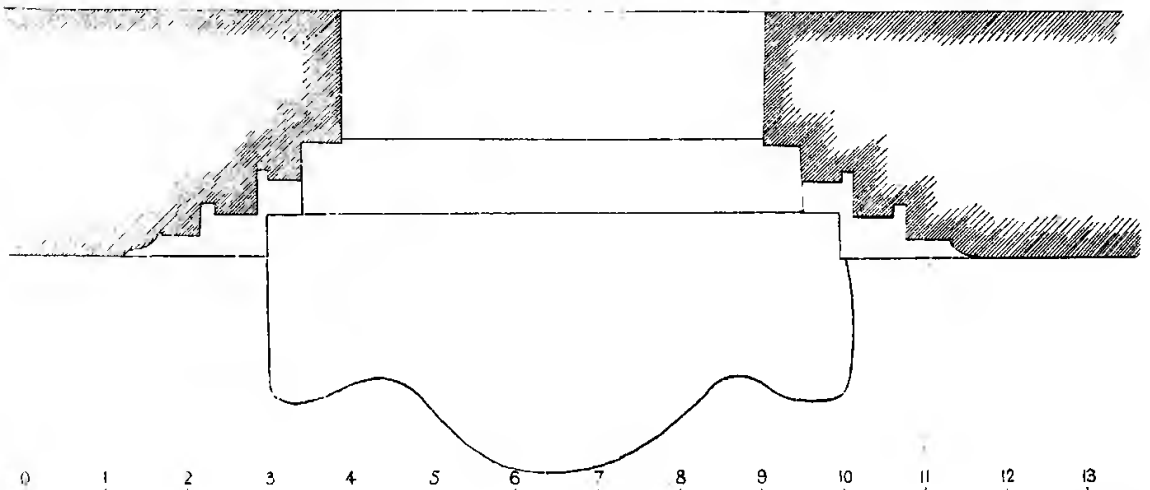
[2] See *Harivaṁśa*, ccxxiv.

[3] *Cave Temples*, plates lxxiv and lxxv.

JOGEŚVARI.

SHRINE DOOR





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J. Burgess. *H. Cousens, del.*

of this court, by the side of one of which is another small shrine. The left or west side of the hall is entered by a sloping passage, with a cistern by the side of it, which enters first into a sort of guard-room with unfinished rooms on each side, on the plan of the gateway at Elurâ, and with decayed remains of sculpture round the door. From the opposite or east side a more elaborate entrance is formed. First a stair descends or slopes down to a wide door that gives entrance to a large room over 30 feet deep, with a wide passage through it, separated from the side areas by a screen of four pillars on each side. This leads into an open court nearly 60 feet wide by 40 deep, with two irregular upright blocks of rock, apparently intended to be hewn into *dhwaja-stambhas* or ensign pillars, similar to those on each side of the court of the Kailâsa temple at Elurâ.

This court has three doors into another hall 59 feet wide by about 31½ deep and 16½ feet high, and which is divided into three areas by two rows of four pillars each—each division having its own entrance into the great hall of the cave. The central door has been carefully sculptured, and though now somewhat decayed, it is the best preserved piece of sculpture here, and is represented on plate xliv, fig. 2. Over the door, under a *toraṇa*, Śiva is seated—apparently receiving worship. Above the *makaras* on either side are female figures and cherubs. To the left is the marriage scene so often represented. On the right are Śiva, Nandî, and Pârvatî, and attendants; and the tall dwârapâlas and attendant dwarfs by the jambs are in keeping with those found in other Śaiva caves. Over the outer door of the first hall on this side is also left a portion of the sculpture representing Râvana in the well-known scene under Kailâsa. Ganêśa figures to the left of Śiva, and among the *gaṇas* below expressing their scorn of Râvana are some with animal heads. Over the *makaras* at the sides are figures on clouds, and above them again are clouds.

The shrine doors are also moulded, and the principal one, represented on the accompanying plate x, will fully illustrate their style, and presents a close analogy to those in the cave on the eastern hill of Elephanta called Sîtâ's dêvala,[1] and which is apparently more modern than the great cave there. The whole style is indicative of a later date for this hall than either the Elephanta one or the Dumar Lena; in fact, as stated in *The Cave Temples*, it may be regarded as one of the very latest of the larger cave temples in India, and may be ascribed to the end of the eighth century A.D.

Lonâd.

Lonâd is a small village about 3½ miles N.N.E. from Kalyân, and about 30 miles from Bombay. In a hill which forms one side of a glen above this village Mr. W. F. Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, discovered a rock temple in January 1873.[2] It faces S. by W., and consists of a verandah 48 feet long by 10 feet wide, of a hall 45 feet long by 19 deep, entered by three doors, and of an unfinished shrine at the back (see plan on pl. xlvi. fig. 3). The verandah has four square pillars in front, with a carved frieze above about a foot deep; the left-end portion, or fully one-third of it, is represented on pl. xlv. fig. 1. It will be observed that there is nothing specially distinctive of any religious sect in these groups, but when compared with those in the Bâdâmi caves (plates viii and xlii), they appear to belong to the same general class. In a recess at the left end of the front of the verandah is a larger group represented in fig. 3. It is a good deal destroyed on the right or outer

[1] See my *Elephanta*, §§ 103, 104, and drawings x and xi.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv, pp. 68, 165.

side, but measures about 8 feet by 6 feet. A pilaster on the left side of the sculpture supports a *makara* from whose mouth a *toraṇa* issues, and it is probable the other side was similar. In the centre sits a male figure, as in the fourth compartment of the frieze; a small female chafes his left foot, and a taller one by his side holds up a sword, as in many of the Ajaṇṭâ wall paintings.[1] On his right are three females, one with a *chauri*, and another with a dish or other round object. Two males with curled hair sit on his right, and other two on his left, each pair being engaged in conversation, while numerous other figures fill up the background. The scanty clothing of all the figures reminds one of the Amarâvatî sculptures; but there is nothing distinctively sectarian in this sculpture any more than in those of the frieze.

The side doors are surrounded by plain facias, and have small standing figures at each side, and the central one has slender pilasters and a leaf moulding outside with chaitya arches on the lintel. At each side is a sort of horizontal disc, borne by a small curly-headed dwarf, both much injured (see fig. 2). Besides the unfinished shrine, there are incisions made in the back wall of the hall, as if for the beginning of two cells. There can be no doubt that this was intended as a Brahmanical shrine, but whether Śaiva or Vaishnava, it would be difficult to decide. The cave is now dedicated to a Grâmadêvî or village goddess, known as Khaṇḍ-ôśvarî, or the goddess with the sword (*khaṇḍa*)—possibly from the figure in the sculpture described above. In the left end of the front, opposite the sculpture, is a rough square isolated block of stone left in a recess.

The style of the sculpture and of the mouldings on the pilaster, pillars, and door, indicate a much later date for this cave than for even the last described. A little to the left of this and higher up are two or three unfinished cells.

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[1] *e.g.* in *Cave Temples*, pl. xlvii, where two may be seen.

CHAPTER IX.

ELEPHANTA CAVES.

The great cave at Elephanta, in the Bombay harbour, has been so long known to Europeans, and has been consequently so often described and so fully illustrated by Daniell and others,[1] that it is hardly necessary to say anything about it in the present work.

The cushion-shaped capitals which crown all its pillars, as represented in the accompanying woodcut (No. 18), seems to have reached its greatest development and beauty of form in this cave, but is found in greater or less perfection in so many caves dating from before and after this one, that it has come to be considered the typical capital of Indian architecture. It may be compared with the Doric style of classical art in the same manner as the vase with the leaf falling over it, as exemplified in the Râmêśvara and elsewhere,[2] may be considered as a richer Ionic order. The two are the principal forms or "orders" of Indian art, and though they may be compared[3] with the classic orders, they are thoroughly original in their form and indigenous in their inception.

No. 18.—Pillars and Corner of the Shrine in Elephanta. From a photograph.

The Elephanta cushion capital is also of interest, as being the same form that constitutes the *amalâ śila* or *amalâka* crown to Hindu temples of the same age; and though we are still unable to guess from what it may have been derived, we can hardly escape the conviction that their origin was the same.

In some respects the Dumar Lena at Elura may be said to be a finer cave than this, as it is a larger one, but it wants that perfection of finish both in architectural and sculptural details which make this temple so remarkable and so justly admired. The third of the group—the Jôgêśvarî one—both as regards its architecture and sculpture, is greatly inferior, and probably may be considered as the last of the class.

This cave may belong to the middle of the eighth century, and is the most complete of its class, which consists of the three great halls of Dumar Lena, Jôgêśvarî, and Elephanta.

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 465–475, and plate lxxxv. for the ground plan. For some of these accounts, see Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, &c., tome ii, p. 25–33; Dr. W. Hunter in *Archæologia*, vol. viii. pp. 286–295; H. Macneil in *ibid.* vol. viii. pp. 270–277; *Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. pp. 109–117; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 123, 432, 436, 441–448; W. Erskine, *Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 198–250; Fergusson, *Rock-Cut Temples*, pp. 54, 55; Dr. J. Wilson, *Calcutta Review*, vol. xlii (1866), pp. 1–25; and my *Rock Temples of Elephanta or Ghârapurî* (Bombay, 1871).

[2] Compare also the capital from cave XXIV at Ajantâ figured in *Report*, vol. iv, p. 57, woodcut No. 17; *Cave Temples*, pl. xlix. fig. 1; in the Tîn Thâl, *ib.* pl. lvii. fig. 2; in the Viśvakarma, pl. lxii. fig. 2; in Râvaṇa kâ Khâî, pl. lxxi. fig. 2; in Kailâsa, pl. lxxxiv. figs. 1, 2, 3; and at Aurangâbâd, pl. lxvi. fig. 2.

[3] We might similarly compare the pillars in the Kârle Chaitya, and in several of the Nâsik Caves, with the Tuscan order.

The accompanying autotype plate xl presents two of the compartments on the back wall of this cave; that to the left being the Trimûrti or large three-headed bust of Śiva, representing him in the three characters of Rudra, Brahmâ, and Vishnu. The central face is that of Brahmâ, or Śiva as the Creator, that to the spectator's right is the same god as the preserver or Vishnu, and that to the left holding the snake in his hand and with the tusks is Rudra, the destructive form of Śiva. The other compartment to the left represents Śiva in the androgynous form of Ardhanâri, the right side being male, and leaning on Nandi, the favourite vehicle of Śiva, and the left female representative of Pârvati. The gods are represented on the clouds on either side of this group doing them reverence.

But, besides the great cave, there are several others on the island, which seems to have been a very early sacred place; for, on the north-east of it, on its highest point, is a large ruined brick Bauddha stúpa, which I had opened in May 1882, but found no relic chamber in it.

Not far from this, in a south-westerly direction, and north-east from the great cave, is a neat cave (plate xlvi, fig. 2) with a large court in front, and having a hall or portico 73½ feet long by 26½ feet deep and 11 feet high, with four pillars in front and two pilasters. Each pillar is 3 feet square to a height of 4½ feet from the plinth on which it stands, and the neck and compressed-cushion capital, 3 feet 9 inches high, is sixteen-sided. In the back of the hall are three shrines, the side ones empty, and the central one, 15 feet 7 inches square, contains only a moulded altar.

This cave appears to be the one mentioned by De Couto (1603), who says that "in the other hill of this small island, to the east and nearly in the centre, beyond the great temple, is another temple, to which the entrance was formerly by a beautiful gate which had a porch of marble most exquisitely wrought. This temple has a large hall and three chambers. In the first, to the right hand, there is nothing left now; the second has two idols seated on a large square seat. One of these idols was called Vithalá Chendal, had six arms and only one head, and was supported by two small idols that were on each side of it."[1] This probably referred to Vitthala and Chandi, or possibly only to Chandi or Durgâ in one of her terrific forms—the Mahishêśvari with the Asura and her attendants. The cave is now known as Sitabâi's Dêvala.

Quite near to the great cave, a little to the south-east of it, are two others, much ruined in front, but otherwise not without interest, and probably older than the large one. The fronts of both have entirely fallen, but they have been on the general plan of the last described, a long hall or deep verandah, with three cells at the back, and other apartments in the ends. The portico of the first (Cave II. on plate xlvi, fig. 1) is 85 feet long by about 35 feet deep, with a shrine and two cells behind, and a large room in the left end, about 39 feet by 20 feet, screened off by four octagonal pillars. The shrine door is moulded, and has dwârapâlas by the jambs. In the other (Cave III.) the portico has been 49 feet long, with a linga shrine and two cells at the back, and a room at the left end about 21 feet by 16 feet, with slender square pillars in front and a cell at the back, and at the right end is another small room leading into two more cells.

[1] *De Asia*, dec. vii, liv. iii, cap. 11; see also Niebuhr, *Voyage*, tome ii, p. 33.

TRIMURTI AND ARDHANARI SCULPTURES IN ELEPHANTA CAVE TEMPLE

CHAPTER X.

HARIŚCHANDRAGAD AND PATNA CAVES.

The Hariśchandragad Caves admit of but little illustration, as they are exceedingly plain, and what sculpture there is has been repeated elsewhere, and they have been fully described already.[1] The plans (plate xlvii) may help, however, to make the description more intelligible. Fig. 1 is the ground plan of Cave II., the most complete of the group, and whilst there is a figure of Ganeśa on the lintel of the central door, it will be seen from the arrangements that there is no shrine or place for worship; the plan is that of a dwelling-house, not of a shrine. There seems no reason to suppose that it was ever meant for ought else, and was probably the dwelling of the priest in charge of the neighbouring temple.

Cave I. also (see plan, fig. 2) is only a smaller place of the same sort, with a well in front. In a small room on the right side of the court of Cave III. is an altar, and inside the cave is a large figure of a nude Ganêśa in a panel about 6 feet square. Cave IV. consists of an outer oblong cell with an inner one rough and unfinished. Cave V. is lower, and in a water-course; the front has fallen away and a structural one is substituted. The plan is irregular and unfinished, with broad high benches along the three inner sides, and a cell on the right. Close to it is a water-cistern. Cave VI. is at a slightly higher level, and is similar to No. IV., the front room being 16 feet by 8½ feet, but a bed of *muram* or soft clay has destroyed the walls. In Cave VII. the outer room is deeper, with an open front, and in the inner one is a long *vêdi* or altar, as if for three images, and with some small figures and lozenge-shaped ornaments carved on the front of it. At the right end is a basin to receive the water, &c., from the images. The *muram* bed has also damaged its left and back walls of this cave. Cave VIII. is similar to No. IV., with a larger cell.

To the N.N.W. of these small caves and at a lower level stands an old temple of perhaps the tenth century, consisting only of a neat Vimâna, with four small porches on the sides, standing in the middle of a court, the west side of which consists of a rocky face, in which are excavated three caves (see plan, fig 3),[2] one of them with a cell in the corner of it. In the south side is a shrine and two cells, and on the right is a wall with a small shrine near the entrance; the wall that once bounded the north side has fallen. This temple spire is much like that of the temple of Pâpanâtha at Paṭṭadakal, and is probably as old as the rock excavations, which seem to have been meant for the accommodation of the attendants. The pillars and roofs of the small porches are elegantly carved.

Farther down the stream a little is a rock-cut hall about 55 feet square, with a large *linga* altar in the middle of it.

Patna Caves.

The caves of Patna or Kanhar, on the south border of Khandêsh, near to the Pitalkhora Buddhu cave, consist of three excavations, one Brahmanical and two Jaina.

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 477–479; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi. pp. 10, 11.

[2] The structural joints are indicated on the plan by the broken lines being vertical.

[3] *Cave Temples*, pp. 188 and 192.

The Brahmanical cave is locally known as Śringār Chāvadi, of which the ground-plan is given plate xlviii, fig. 2, and a section to double the scale (fig. 1), showing the return of the façade along the side of the court, and the carving on the screen wall and pillars, the style of which indicates a comparatively late date, as does also that of the entrance door, shown in plate xlvii, fig. 5, with its very high step and medieval style of ornamentation.

The Jaina caves are known as Nāgārjuna's Koṭṛi and Sītā's Nāhni, the latter a very irregular unfinished cave, and the other, strangely enough, bearing the name of one of the greatest Buddha teachers, if not the founder of the Mahāyāna schools.[1] The plan of the first is given plate xlviii, fig. 4, the longitudinal section in fig. 3, and a transverse section in plate xlvii, fig. 4, which shows Indra and Ambikā seated in front of the two very rude pillars, and the Jina on a low throne against the back wall. These, with the details given in the *Cave Temples*, are sufficient to give a correct idea of this very late Digambara Jaina excavation.

CHAPTER XI.

ANKAI CAVES

Little need be added to the account of the Brahmanical Caves at Ankāi-Tankāi given in *The Cave Temples*, p. 480. The sketch plate l, fig. 3 represents the sculpture at the right side of the entrance to the first cave, and fig. 2 is a drawing of the door of the shrine to the scale of 1 inch to 3 feet. The sculptures represented in these drawings indicate pretty clearly that these caves belong to about the same date as the latest Elurā Brahmanical caves, about the tenth century. There are no sculptures whatever in the other three excavations. On plate xlix, fig. 6, is a plan of the very irregular Cave No. II.

The Jaina Caves on the ascent to the hill fort are a much more interesting series,[2] and have been elaborately carved. The accompanying autotype plate xii presents the appearance of the first two caves, which are two-storeyed, and on plate xlix, figs 1–3, are the section and plans of both floors of No. II. On the outside wall at each end of the façade are lions in full relief, and the front wall is perforated in small square holes to admit light. In the lower storey the front apartment, about 26 feet wide by 12 deep and 9½ feet high, has the usual Jaina figures of Indra and Ambikā in the ends, and an elaborately carved door (pl. xlvii, fig. 6) from it into the hall, which is about 25½ feet square. A small lobby leads into the shrine by a door also richly sculptured. In the shrine is a throne with an arched back and a high step to it, but no image.

The plans of Caves III. and IV. are given in figs. 5 and 6 of plate xlix, and will render the account in *The Cave Temples* more intelligible. The roof of the central area of Cave III., between the four pillars, as there mentioned, is carved with a large lotus, having four concentric

[1] Nāgārjuna is said to have lived as a hermit in Western India, but was converted to Buddhism by Rāhula of Peta, the 13th Patriarch. Can the story have anything to do with this locality? The cave, however, is of much later date than the time of the 14th Buddha Patriarch, who must be placed before the Christian era.

[2] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 505–508, and plates xciv and xcv for plans and sections of Cave No. I., also the door and image of the Jina.

rows of petals, two of which are sculptured with figures; the inner with sixteen single figures dancing or playing on musical instruments, and the outer with twenty-four, mostly mounted on different animals, and perhaps representing the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. This ceiling is represented on fig. 1, plate I, and may be compared with the examples at Aihole already noticed (pl. ix), but to which it is much inferior.

CHAPTER XII.

INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor G. Bühler, C.I.E., Vienna

I. The Nânâghât Inscriptions.

The Nânâghât inscriptions, which belong to the oldest historical documents of Western India, and in some respects are more interesting and important than all the other cave inscriptions taken together, have not received hitherto much attention from Orientalists, though Colonel Sykes' imperfect copies have been available for many years, and excellent photolithographs were printed by Dr. Burgess some time ago. Probably the fragmentary preservation of the large inscription has deterred epigraphists from undertaking its explanation. Pandit Bhagvânlâl in his article on the coins of the Andhrabhrityas[1] discusses, however, the general sense and bearing of Nos. I. and II., and gives particularly valuable hints regarding their connection with the six smaller coeval inscriptions. He has also given a list of the numeral signs which occur in I. and II., *ibidem* vol. xii, pp. 404–6.[2] His readings, however, do not always agree with the photolithographs. Before him Dr. Stevenson made some remarks on these documents,[3] which, as usual, speak more for his courage as a scientific pioneer than for his knowledge of the subject.

For the attempt at a translation and explanation of the Nânâghât inscriptions, which I now offer, I have used, besides the photolithographs taken for Dr. Burgess by Pandit Bhagvânlâl, a photograph of the first half of the large inscription, also furnished to me by Dr. Burgess. As will appear in the sequel, this additional aid has proved to be very important for the beginning of line 3, and has enabled me to find what I think will be admitted to be the real connection of that fragment with those preserved in the following lines.

These inscriptions are found in a large cave at the top of the Nânâghât, a pass which leads from the Konkan to the ancient town of Junnar. Nos. I. and II. occupy the left and right side walls, while Nos. III.–VIII. are incised, as labels, above the heads of what have once been a number of portrait figures carved on the back wall.

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[1] *Journ. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiii, pp. 305–316. Pandit Bhagvânlâl had engaged to supply translations of the whole, indeed of all the Cave Inscriptions, which were to have been ready nearly two years ago but has failed to supply them in time even for this volume.—J. B.

[2] Also in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 64, 65.

[3] *Journ. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 174.

Transcripts.

No. I.—A. *Left Wall.*

(1.) [Om namo prajâpati]no Dhanâmasa namo Isâna namo Sankaṛisana-Vâsudevânaṁ Chanda-âdinaṁ [mahi]mâ[v]atânaṁ chatunnaṁ chaṁ lokapâlânaṁ Yama-Varuṇa-Kubera-Vâsavâ nâṁ namo kumâra-vâmasa Vedisirisa ra[ñ]o[1]

(2.) . . . . . [v]irasa sûnuna sapratiṭhitachakasa Dakkh[iṇâpa]tha[pati]no . . . . . [2]

(3.) mâ . . . . . [bâ]lâya mahârathino Aṅgiya-kulavaḍḍhanasa saganagiriyatavâsa[yâ]ya pathaviya pathamavirasa vasa . . ya va alaha (?) . . . . . sahasu . ya mahato maha . .[3]

(4.) . . . . . sirisa bhâriyâ devasa putradasa varadasi kâmulasa dhanadasa Vedisiri-mâtu Sattino sâmantasa cha mahâya sima . . . . . pathamiya . . .

(5.) variya . . . . . â[n]ganavaḍḍhaniya mâsopavâsiniya gahitâpasâya chantabrahmachariyâya dîkhavratayamâsamuddâya yañâ hutâ dhûpanasugandhâ yaniya . . . . .

(6.) râyasi . . . . . [ya]ñchi vitharî vano 1 Agâḍhoya-yamño dakkhiṇâ dinâ gâvo Kariṁ 12 aso cha 1 Anârabhanîyo yamño dakkhiṇâ dhenu . . . . . .

(7.) . . . . . dakkhiṇâyo dinâ gâvo 1700 hathi 10 . . . . . .

(8.) . . . . . sa . . sasatarâya [v]isâḍhi 289 kuḍ hiyo rup'imayiyo 17 lhi . . . . . [4]

(9.) . . . . . rikâ yamño dakkhiṇâya dinâ gâvo 11,000 asi 1,000 pasu[pakâ] . . . . . .

(10.) . . . . . 12 gamavaro 1 dakkhiṇâ kâhâpaṇâ 24,400 pasupako kâhâpaṇo 6,001 Râja [sûya-yamño] . . . . . sakaṭaṇa

No. II.—B. *Right Wall.*

(1.) dhanâṇagirilaṇasapayutaṇ sapaṭo 1 aso 1 sarathio 1 gâviṇaṁ 100 Asamedhe hiṭiyo [yi]tho dakkhiṇâyo [di]nâ aso rup'iâ[makâ]ro 1 suvaṇṇa . . . ni 12 dakkhiṇâ dinâ kâhâpaṇâ [1]4,000 gâvo 1 ha[thi] . . . . . [dakkhi]ṇâ dinâ[5]

(2.) gâvo . sakaṭaṇ dhanañagirita[ṇ]sapayutaṇ . . . . . oṭâyo yañño . . . . . 17 di[nnâ]? . . vâya . . aṭaṇa sa[6]

(3.) . . . . . 17 adha . . . . . na . Ii ya . . . pasupâlo din[o] . . . . . [dakkhi]ṇâ dinâ su . . . phi 12 tesa rup[iṇaṇ]kâha 1 dakkhiṇâ kâhâpa[ṇâ] 10,000 . . . 2[7]

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[1] L. 1. In the beginning six or seven syllables have been lost. It is certain from the construction that the word *namo* must have stood before an adjective or noun qualifying *dhanâmasa*, and it may be inferred from the usual practice observed in inscriptions that the first word was *Oṁ* or *Siddhaṁ*. The restoration [*prajâpati*]*no* rests on the fact that in the *Purâṇas* Dharma is one of the Prajâpatis. In *mahimâ-ṭaṇaṇaṁ* the top of the *ma* is visible, as well as the vowel *î* and the top of the *ta*. For *rhasa* read *sha*.

[2] L. 2. The restoration *Dakkhiṇâpatha* seems to be certain, because the inscription was written in the Dekhan. The second part of the compound may have been *isvara*, *patino*, or *sâmino*.

[3] L. 3. The restoration *bâlâya* is based on the photograph, where the letter *lâ* is faintly, but still distinctly readable before *ya*.

[4] L. 8. Possibly *dasatâki*, which, however, gives no sense. The last figure in 289 is not certain. Pandit Bhagvânlâl reads 189, but the 200 is plain on the facsimile and on the photograph. It is just possible that the sign read as 9 is a mutilated *da*, and belongs to *dakhiya*. Dakshiṇîyo might mean *udakadhâyo*, "water-vessels." Read *rupamayiyo*. See Childers, *Pali Dict.* s. v. *rûpa*. L. 10. Read *gâmavaro*.

[5] L. 1. Possibly *kâhâpaṇâ* 24,000 may have been the original reading, for before 4,000 only ┬ 1000 appears, and the determinative sign, which must have been 10 or 20, has been effaced.

[6] L. 2. The figure after *gâvo* is blurred on the facsimile. Pandit Bhagvânlâl reads it 60,000.

[7] L. 3. Probably *pasupako dinno* is to be read. Probably some more figures followed after 10,000.

(4.) . . . . . gâvo 20,000 [Bhaga]la-Dasarato yañño y[ițho dakhiṇâ di]ṇâ[gâvo] 10,000 Gargatirato yañño yiṭho dakhiṇâ . . . . . prapaṇko paṭi 301 Gavâmayanaṁ yaṇño yiṭho[dakhiṇâ diṇâ]gâvo 1101

. . . . . gâvo 1100(?) prapaṇko kâhâpaṇâ paṭi 100 Aṭuyâtro yaṇño . . . .

(5.) . . . . . [Ga]vâmayanaṁ y ñ[o] dakhiṇâ diṇâ gâvo 1,101 Aṅgira-[i]mayanaṁ yaṇño yiṭho dakhiṇâ gâvo 1,101 Ta . . . . . [dakhiṇâ d]iṇâ gâvo 1101(?) Satâtirataṁ yaṇño . . . . . 100 . . . . . [ya]ño dakhiṇâ g[â]vo 1100 Aṅgirasa[ti]rato yaṇño yiṭho[dakhi]ṇâ gâ[vo . . . .

(6.) . . . . . gâvo 1,002 Chhaṇḍuṇaṇapa[va]ṇâ[ṇatiṇṭo] dakhiṇâ gâvo 1,001 Aṅg[i]ra[satiṇa]to yaṇ[ño yi]ṭho ila[khiṇâ] . . . . . ṭato viṭho yaño dakhiṇâ diṇâ . . . . . to yaṇño yiṭho dakhiṇâ . . . . . yaṇño yiṭho dakhiṇâ diṇâ gâvo 1001 . . . . .

(7.) . . . . . ṇa . sayaṁ . . . . . dakhiṇâ diṇâ gâvo . . . . . ṇa . . . . . [Aṅ]gi[rasâ]ṇayaṇaṁ chhaṇa . . . . . [akhi]ṇâ diṇâ gâvo 1,000 . . . . . dakhiṇâ diṇâ gâvo 1,001 tena . . . .

(8.) . . . . . Terasarato sa . . . . . âga dakhiṇâ diṇâ gâvo . . . . . Dasarato ma . . . . . [di]ṇâ gâvo 1,001 a . . . . . 1,001 da .

(9.) . . . . . [ya]ño dakhiṇâ di[ṇâ] . . . . .

(10.) . . . . . [di]khiṇâ diṇâ . . . . .

Translation.

A.—*Left Wall.*

1. "[*Om adoration*] to Dharma [*the Lord of created beings*]; adoration to Indra, adoration to Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, the descendants of the Moon,[2] (*who are*) endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vâsava; praise to Vedisiri, the best of royal princes! Of the king

2. ". . . . . of the brave hero, whose rule is unopposed, (of *the lord of*) the Dekhan . . . .

3. "By . . . . . the daughter of the Mahârathi, the increaser of the Aṁgiya race, the first hero of the earth that is girdled by the ocean and the best of mountains . . . . . .

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[1] L. 4. The top, the sign for 1000 in 20,000, has been lost. The two letters *Bhaga* are not certain. The *r* in *garga* is not certain. The sign for 100 in 1101 is blurred, but the amount paid for the Gavâmayana mentioned in the next line is 1101.

[2] L. 10. It seems doubtful if the tenth line was the last.

[3] L. 1. Kṛishṇa and his elder brother Balarâma are remotely descended from the Moon, and the expression *sâdhanaṁ*, literally "sons," must be taken in that sense. The form *sâta* for *suta* may be owing to a clerical mistake, or to a fissure in the rock, but in some of the modern Prâkṛits, *e.g.* in Gujarâtî, *sato* is frequently used for *suta*. Among the guardians of the quarters Yama is named first, apparently because the inscription was written in the South. In my opinion the *mangalâcharaṇa* ends with the word *Vedisiri*, "to Vedisiri." It is hardly likely that that individual who is called "the best of royal princes" should immediately afterwards be mentioned as a king. It seems to me more probable that the word *raño*, "of the king," applies to another person whose name is lost. To the same person apply the epithets also which are continued in the fragment of L. 2. It is impossible to say with certainty in what connection his name may have been introduced, but see the remarks below.

[4] L. 3. The fragments in lines 3–5 form, it would seem, one sentence, the subject of which is *yaṣ-dhaṁ-nayaṁ-vidhâ* (l. 5), "sacrifices abounding with income," while the verb is *kâri*, "were effected." The adjective ending in the ten lines and gen. which precede the word *yaṣ-i* qualified the queen who caused the sacrifices to be effected. The same person, it seems to me, is referred to by the words . . . *ṇâ-sâ Devagâ* "the wife of . . . sri," *Vedisiriṇâe*, "the mother of Vedisiri," *Satino sa* . . . *ṇâ-sâ* . . . *ṇâya* in line 1, and *Gâtâ* "the daughter of," in line 3. It is not uncommon in inscriptions that queens and other females are described by genea-

4. "(*Who is the*) wife of . . . śri,[1] the lord who gives sons, boons, (*the fulfilment of*) desires and wealth, (*who is the*) mother of Vedisrî and the mother of the illustrious Śakti . . . . . .

5. "Who gave a . . . most excellent (*image of*) a snake (*deity*),[2] who fasted during a whole month, who (*even*) in her house (*lived like*) an ascetic, who remained chaste, who is well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows and offerings,—sacrifices, odoriferous with incense, were offered . . . . . .

6. "of the king . . . . . sacrifices were offered. Description—An Agnyâdheya sacrifice (*was offered*), a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) twelve, 12, cows and 1 horse;—an Anvârambhaniya sacrifice (*was offered*), the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) . .[3] milch-cows . . . . . .

7. ". . . . . sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 1700 cows, 10 elephants . . . . . .

8. ". . . . . 289 (?) . . 17 silver waterpots . . . . . .[4] . . . . . .

9. ". . . . . a rika-sacrifice, sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 11,000 cows, 1000 horses . . . . . .

10. ". . . . . 12 . . ., 1 excellent village, an(*other*) sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 24,400 Kârshâpanas, (*the gifts to*) the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) 6,001 Kârshâpanas; a Râja[sûya sacrifice] . . . . . the cart[5]

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first their descent, next their position as married women, then the names of their sons, and last an enumeration of their virtues. If this conjecture as to the connexion of the three fragments is correct, it will, however, be necessary to alter *bhâriyâ* in line 4, which stands in the nominative case, to *bhariyâya*, the instrumental, and *Vedisirimâtuya*, a genitive, to *Vedisirimâtuyâ*, the instrumental. The name of the pious queen has been lost. Regarding the meaning of the word *Mahârathi* see my remarks on Kârle No. 20, *Reports*, vol. iv, p. 107. "The best of mountains" is either the Himâlaya or the Vindhya.

[1] L. 4. The name of the king whose queen is here described is, unfortunately, mutilated. As the remnant *°sirisa* shows, it ended, like the names of some other Andhra kings, in *śri*. *Satino* undoubtedly corresponds to Sanskrit *Sâtaḥ*, and we have here the proof that the Sâtakarṇis who is frequently mentioned in the legends regarding Vikramâditya and Śatavâhana as a son of the latter, really was a historical person; compare also Prof. Jacobi on the *Viracharita*, in Weber's *Indische Studien*, ch. xiv, pp. 108 *seqq*.

[2] L. 5. The translation of *nâgavarapûjâyâya*, "who gave a most excellent image of a snake deity," is of course uncertain, because the word may be mutilated in the beginning, and because *nâga* means also "elephant" and *vara* "a boon."

[3] L. 6. [*Ya*]*ñehi yithaṁ* corresponds to Sanskrit *yajñair iṣṭam*, and is the impersonal passive construction. In the original there is a larger blank space left after *yithaṁ*, which indicates that one part of the inscription is finished. The word *rano*, which opens the second part, corresponds to Sanskrit *varṇa* (*praśasti*), and has to be taken as an equivalent of the common Jaina *vaṇṇao*, which is used in order to imply that the conventional description of a person or thing mentioned has been left out, and must be supplied by the reader. It may be translated by "description" or "details." The horizontal stroke which follows *rano* is a stop, and used frequently in ancient inscriptions for the single or double vertical stroke | or ‖, which latter occur both on ancient monuments and in modern MSS. The Agnyâdheya, "the kindling of the sacred fires," precedes all Śrauta sacrifices. It is followed by the Anvârambhaṇeyeshṭi, called in the text Anârambhaniyo yaṁño.

[4] L. 8. I leave *risiṭaṭhi* untranslated. The corresponding Sanskrit word *ṛiṣyagâṅgi* means "a perch" for peacocks and other birds. It seems hardly likely that the same object is meant here. Regarding the figure compare the note to the transcript. The text has plainly *rupâmayiyo*, but *rûpimayiyo* is required (see Childers, *Pali Dict.* s. v. *rûpi*.)

[5] L. 10. In several cases the word *dhâṇâ*, "sacrificial fee," occurs more than once in connexion with the same sacrifice. Probably the several sets of officiating priests received in these cases separate gifts. *Pasapaño*, "the presents to the spectators and menials," corresponds to Sanskrit *prasarpaka*, literally "one who approaches." The latter word is used as a technical term for the spectators and menials who assisted at the sacrifices (see the *Pet. Dict.* s. voce). It is evident from the context and from the phrase *pasapaño dhâ*[*ṇe*] in l. 3 that in this inscription "the presents given to" such persons are intended, and that *pasapaño* stands for *prasarpaka*.

B.—*Right Wall.*

1. "Used for conveying a mountain of grain, 1 excellent dress, 1 horse, 1 horse-chariot, 100 kine. A second horse-sacrifice was offered; sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 1 horse with silver trappings, 12 golden . . ., an(*other*) sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 14,000 (?) Kârshâpanas, 1 village . . elephant . . . . . , a sacrificial fee was given[1]

2 . . . cows, the cart used for conveying a mountain of grain . . . . . an . . OVÂYA sacrifice . . . . . 17 milch cows (?) . .

3. . . . . 17 . . . . . presents to the spectators were given . . . . . a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 12 . . . . . 1 (*set of*) silver ornaments for them, an(*other*) sacrificial fee was given consisting of 10,000 Kârshâpanas . . . . . .

4. . . . . 20,000(?) cows; a Bhagala-Daśarâtra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 10,001 cows; a Gargatrirâtra sacrifice was offered . . . . . the presents to the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) 301 dresses; a Gavâmayana was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows, a . . sacrifice, the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 1,100 (?) cows, the presents to the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) . . Kârshâpanas, 100 dresses; an Âptoryâma sacrifice (was offered) . . . . . .[2]

5. . . . . ; a Gavâmayana sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows; an Angirasâmayana sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*of*) 1,101 cows; . . . . . (*a sacrificial fee*) was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows; a Satâtirata sacrifice . . . . . 100 . . . . . ; . . . sacrifice was offered, the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 1,100 cows; an Âṅgirasatatirâtra sacrifice was offered, the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) . . . cows . . . . .[3]

6. . . . . 1,002 cows; a Chhandomapavamânatrirâtra sacrifice was offered, the sacrificial fee . . . . . ; a . . . . . râtra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given . . . . . ; a . . . . tra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee . . . . . ; a . . . . sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of* 1,001 cows . . . . . .[4]

7.) . . . . . , a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) . . . cows . . . . . ; an Angirasâmayana, of six years (*duration*) . . . . . , a sacrificial fee was given, (*consisting of*) 1,000 cows . . . . . (*a sacrificial fee*) was given (*consisting of*) 1,001 cows, thirteen . . . . . .

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[1] L. 1. The grain used for the sacrifices is brought to the sacrificial enclosure in a bullock-cart, which afterwards is made over to the priests. Hence a cart is twice enumerated among the fees. The sense of *tavira*, "conveying," seems to be clear from the context; but its etymology is not certain. The Prâkrit dictionaries and grammars give *taïsa* as an equivalent of *tavichha* (*tavyat*) and *tavassa*, which do not answer in this case. Possibly *tavisa* may be here a noun of action, derived from the root *tavi*, "to move, to shake." *Sapaṭo* stands for Sanskrit *saṭpaṭṭa*, "an excellent dress or piece of cloth" (see also below, line 4). I take *gavinam* for the gen. pl. of *gavi*, "a cow," governed by *satam*, "one hundred," which is expressed by a figure only. The expression "a second horse-sacrifice" shows that the last sacrifice mentioned, the name of which has been lost, must also have been a horse-sacrifice.

[2] L. 4. I am not able to find the *Bhagalâdaśarâtra* in the Śrauta-sûtras. But as Bhagala is the name of an ancient Brâhmanical teacher, it is not improbable that a rite, called after him, existed. Regarding the *Gargatrirâtra*, see *Âśvalâyana Śrauta-sûtra*, x. 2, 6. The Gavâmayana is one of the Sattras, or sacrificial sessions. The Âptoryâma is a well-known Soma sacrifice.

[3] L. 5. The Angirasâmayana is also a Sattra. I leave the name *Satâtirata* in its Prâkrit form, because I am unable to identify it in the *Śrauta-sûtras*. Regarding the Âṅgirasatratrirâtra, see also *Śrauta-sûtra*, ii. 2, 1.

[4] L. 6. Regarding the *Chhandomapavamânatrirâtra*, see *Pet. Dict.*, s. v. *Chhandoma*.

8.) . . . . . a Trayodaśarâtra . . . . . a sacrificial fee was given, (*consisting of*) . . . cows . . . . . a Daśarâtra . . . . a . . . . sacrifice, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1001 cows . . . . . [1]

9-10. . . . . [2]

No. 3—

This and the following five inscriptions are incised on the back-wall of the Nânâghât Cave, above the positions of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed.

Râjâ Simuka—Sâtavâhano sirimato

—"King Simuka Sâtavâhana, the illustrious one."

No. 4—

Devi-Nâyanikâya râño cha
Siri-Sâtakanino

—"(*The images*) of the Queen, Nâganikâ, and the King, the illustrious Sâtakarni."[3]

No. 5—

Kumâro Bhâya . . . .

—"The Royal prince Bhâya . . ."

No. 6—

Mahârathi *Tanakayiro*[4]

—"The Mahârathi (*feudal baron*) Tranakayira"

No. 7—

Kumaro Hakusiri

—"The Royal prince Hakusiri."[5]

No. 8—

Kumâro Sâtavâhano

—"The Royal prince Sâtavâhana."

No. 9—Over a cistern near the large cave. This inscription is much later than the preceding ones, and belongs to the times of Gautamîputra Sâtakarni I. or Pulumâyi.

Sopârayakasa Govindadâsasa
dhanadhâna padhi.

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of Govindadâsa, an inhabitant Śorpâraka (Sûpârâ)."[8]

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[1] L. 8. Regarding the *Trayodaśarâtra* sacrifice, *Âśv. Śr. sû.* xi, 2, 1.

[2] L. 9-10. The only fragments remaining are not worth translating. It is, however, very uncertain if the inscription ended with line 10.

[3] Pandit Bhagvânlâl takes the word *Simuka* as an equivalent of Sanskrit *śrîmukha*, and attributes to it the same sense as to *Ubhaçaudha* in the Jasdan pillar inscription. The objection to this exceedingly ingenious explanation is, that *śrî* in all the Prâkrits invariably becomes *sirî*, or *siri*, and *mukha* either remains *mukha*, or becomes *moha* or *muha*. It seems to me, also, that the adjective *śrîmâta*, i.e. *śrîmanta*, *śrîmân*, which follows the name, makes a *śrîmukha* superfluous, and its employment improbable. A different solution of the difficulty is suggested by the fact that Indian kings often have double names, the first being the real name, and the second either a family name, or a so-called *Birudu*. To the first kind belongs, *e.g.*, the familiar instance Prithvirâj Chauhân, and to the second the equally well-known Jesingh Sidhrâj. In the same manner it might be that *Simuka* was the proper name of this king, and Sâtavâhana his family name or *Birudu*. That there are good reasons for considering this view to be the correct one will be shown below in the remarks on these inscriptions.

[4] Nâyanikâ, in S. Nâganikâ, is a double diminutive from S. *nâga*, "a snake."

[5] The name is probably Bhâyâh, as a female name Bhayikâ occurs at Kuda, inscription No. 12.

[6] The first letter of the name is not certain. It may be also read as *ta* or *tha*. I cannot give a transliteration of the whole into Sanskrit, but think that the syllables *ayiro* correspond to Sanskrit *âryo*. Regarding the meaning of the title *Mahârathi*, see Kuda, inscription No. 20.

[7] Hâkusiri, which, according to the method of spelling usual in the ancient inscriptions, may stand for Hâkuśrî, would correspond exactly to Sanskrit Sakuśrî, "he whose glory is the (*sarvajanat*) lord-dom." But it will be shown below in the remarks that it is probably a corruption of *Sâtakarni*.

[8] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 256.

Remarks.

Owing to the mutilation of Nos. I. and II. the inquiry into the bearing of the Nânâghât inscriptions on the early history of the Dekhan presents very considerable difficulties, and its results must always remain open to adverse criticism, in a higher degree even than those deduced from other documents of the same class, because more conjectures and speculative combinations are necessarily required in order to obtain them. But it seems to me that a complete and minute analysis of the contents of these documents, and a careful utilisation of the information available in other inscriptions and in the Purânik accounts of the Southern dynasties, permits a combination of the fragments into a self-consistent story and a fuller solution of the riddles which they offer than might be expected at a first glance.

The fundamental principles on which the inquiry must be based are those three, the importance of which Pandit Bhagvânlâl has already recognised, and which he has in part, at least, correctly applied in his article on the coins of the Andhrabhrityas. First, it must be assumed that the royal personages mentioned in the large inscriptions (Nos. I. and II.) are identical with or intimately connected with those represented in the broken relievos on the back wall of the cave, and named in the six small inscriptions accompanying them. Secondly, it must be acknowledged that they refer to the same dynasty, which has left records of its deeds and its liberality towards the Bauddha monks in the caves of Kârle, Nâsik, and Kanheri, and on the Amarâvatî stûpa, and which the *Purâṇas* call Andhras or Andhrabhrityas. Thirdly, it must be conceded that the characters of the Nânâghât inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamiputra Sâtakarni I. and his son Vâsishthîputra Pulumâyi.

As regards the first proposition, its probability is very great on account of the fact that the same cave contains the two sets of inscriptions, and that, as the characters show, both belong to the same period. What can be more natural than the assumption that the relievos are intended as illustrations of the large inscription, especially as the most superficial comparison of the labels over the heads of the figures with the large inscription shows that the former represent two kings, a queen, a Mahârathi, and three royal princes, while the fragments of the latter certainly mention a queen, one or possibly two kings, a Mahârathi, and at least two princes? This probability gains considerably by the analogous custom pointed out by Pandit Bhagvânlâl, according to which both Bauddha and Jaina founders, restorers, and benefactors of temples, set up so-called Śâlikâs, *i.e.*, their own and their relatives' statues in the sacred precincts, grouping the images according to the various generations.[1] The occurrence of this practice in such widely distant countries as Gujarât and Nepâl, permits us to infer that once it was universal all over India. Traces of it, I think, are also found in other Western caves, *e.g.*, at Kârle and Kuḍâ, where figures of kings and queens are introduced, which look very much as if they were intended for portraits. But in order to make the connection between the two sets of inscriptions and the figures really convincing, it is necessary to show that at least the number and the characters of the persons named in them actually correspond. To prove the identity or correspondence of all the names is, of course, impossible, because the majority of those in Nos. I. and II. have been lost or mutilated. Pandit Bhagvânlâl, who has partly attempted this task in the article quoted above, arrives at the conclusion that the male figures with the short

[1] Examples are found in some of Vastupâla's temples, *e.g.*, at Âbû.

inscriptions represent three generations of the Andhra dynasty. 1. King Sâtavâhana. 2. King Sâtakarni. 3. The sons of the latter, the Kumâras or royal princes Bhâya[la] Hakusiri and Sâtavâhana. He further identifies King Sâtakarṇi with the royal prince (*kumâra*) Vedisiri, and believes that the latter is referred to also by the word *raña* "of the king" (at the end of line 1), and is described as a Mahârathi and "increaser of the Aṅgiya race" (line 3). The latter name he is inclined to correct to Andhiya, and to take as an equivalent of a Sanskrit adjective Andhriya,[1] derived from Andhra. Finally, he assumes that Vedisiri-Sâtakani was the person who caused the inscriptions to be incised.

I regret that I am unable to agree with a portion of my learned friend's remarks, and must differ from him on all his deductions, except that the reliefs and their headings refer to three generations. In favour of the latter point particularly is the circumstance that the first king and the last Kumâra bear the same name, and that it is usual among the Hindûs to name the grandson after his grandfather. The distribution of the persons named in these three generations, on the other hand, cannot be correct, for Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl entirely forgets No. VI., the Mahârathi Tranakayiro, and neglects to notice the circumstance that this individual is placed between the Kumâra Bhâya[la] (No. V.) and the Kumâras Hakusiri and Sâtavâhana. The latter circumstance makes it highly improbable that the three Kumâras belong to one and the same generation. As a stranger is introduced after Kumâra Bhâya[la], it is more likely that this prince belonged to the second generation, and, in fact, was a brother of king Sâtakani. This conjecture would become almost a certainty if it could be shown that the Mahârathi was not a son of Sâtakani, but closely connected with him in some other way. An analysis of the contents of the first part of the large inscription will, I think, show in what relation the Mahârathi Tranakayiro stood to Sâtakani, and furnish further proof that the third generation consisted of two members only. It will also make evident that Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl makes too much of Kumâra Vedisiri, and errs in identifying him with King Sâtakani.

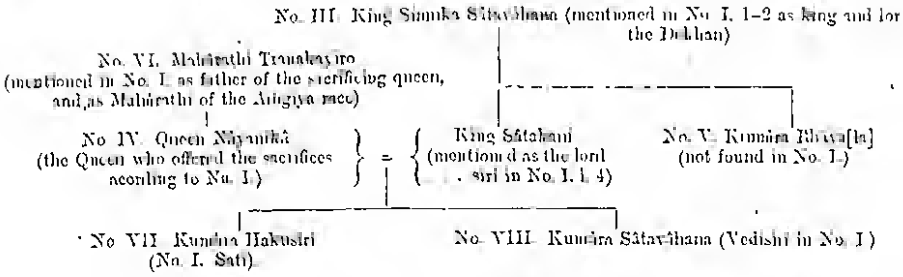
In considering the contents of the large inscription the first question is, Who is the chief person in it? Now, the central figure is a queen, whose name has been lost. Line 3 gives her parentage, deriving it from a Mahârathi, "the increaser of the Aṅgiya race," whose name is also lost. Line 4 states that she was the wife of a king, whose name ended in . . . *siri*, and that her two sons were Vedisiri and Sati. Line 5, finally, gives a catalogue of her virtues, asserts that she was "well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies (*dikhâ*), vows (*vrata*), and sacrifices (*yaña*), and contains the very important information that "sacrifices were offered by her (*yañâ hutâ*)." Thus, she and her affairs occupy three out of the five lines and a half over which the first part of the document extends, and it is said of her that she performed, or caused to be performed, those very acts, with the enumeration of which the second part of the inscription is filled. As another sentence ending in *yañâni yitha[ṃ]*, "sacrifices were offered," followed the phrase *yañâ hutâ* and immediately preceded the word *rano*, "description" or "details," it is of course possible to demur to the conclusion that the queen caused the particular sacrifices named in the description to be offered, and to contend that some other male agent was named in the last portion. Though it might, further, be urged in favour of such a conjecture that, according to the *Śâstras*, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, and that Brâhmaṇas who perform such sacrifices for them (*striyâjaka*)

[1] An objective *Andhriya*, is, however, not traceable in Sanskrit, where *andhra*, *ândhra*, and *ârdhraka* alone occur.

are severely blamed, yet that seems hardly probable, for in the sentence which ends with *yañchi yithaṁ*, "sacrifices were offered," we have the impersonal passive construction and the genitive *râyasa* "of the king" (l. 6, first word). It is for this reason not likely that the clause contained any personal agent. Further, though in general Brahmans are forbidden to act as priests for women, that prohibition does not apply to queens who may be conducting the government of a state, either independently or for minor sons. In that case the disabilities attaching to the sex are removed by the position which the female occupies.[1] Now, it seems to me that the queen described in the large inscription must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vedisiri. For though, as has been shown, she is the chief person in the inscription, "the best of royal princes," Vedisiri is addressed in line 1 with *namo*, "adoration to" or "praise to," and treated with the same reverence as the gods invoked in the beginning of the *maṅgalâcharana*. That fact points to his occupying a privileged and particularly high position. Further, in the enumeration of the queen's virtues (line 5), it is asserted that she "lived (even) in her home like an ascetic" (*gahotâpasâ*), and "remained chaste" (*charitabramhachariyâ*). Such behaviour befits a widow only, not a wife whose husband is living. A widow must, as is well known, never violate the duty which she owed to her husband, and it is particularly prescribed that she shall emaciate herself by fasts and other austerities. A married wife, on the other hand, has no business with such practices, and the duty of conjugal intercourse is incumbent on her. Hence, it seems that the two epithets *gahatâpasâ* and *charitabramhachariyâ* clearly indicate that the king was dead. If that was the case, the conclusion that the widowed queen ruled during the minority of her son, and that that son was Vedisiri, follows from the *namaskâra* addressed to him. If these combinations are admitted, the large inscription mentions—1. A defunct king whose name ended in . . . siri. 2. His widowed queen (name lost). 3. The father of the queen, a Mahârathi (name lost) of the Aṅgiya race; 4, 5, two sons of 1 and 2, the prince Vedisiri and the illustrious Sati. But there is still one line (2) which has not been taken into account. The fragment remaining speaks of a "brave heroic lord of the Dekhan whose rule was undisputed," and if the last word *raño* in line 1 is,—as in my opinion must be,—connected with the words in line 2, it appears that he was a king. The individual referred to cannot have been the Mahârathi mentioned in line 2. The construction forbids this, because the word *bâlâya* stands before *mahârathino*. Moreover, as stated above, *Mahârathi* was a title belonging to a feudal baron, and had a meaning similar to the title *Mahâsâmanta*. This follows clearly from the fact that in Kârle No. 20 the Mahârathi of the Okhalakiyas dates according to the regnal years of Pulumâyi. Again, the word *raño* and the fragment of line 2 cannot be connected with the preceding genitive *Vedisirisa*, because it is clearly impossible that a person who is called a royal prince, can at the same time receive the title "king" and be said to be the lord paramount of the Dekhan. Thus the only course is to assume that the words in question refer to a sixth individual, a second king, who, as his name stands before that of the consort of the pious sacrificer, either was his father or remoter ancestor.

If we now turn to the persons mentioned in the small inscriptions, it is clear that the number and the character attributed to each correspond almost exactly with those in the larger. They may be arranged as follows:—

[1] For the fact that queens ruled in India, compare *Râjatarangiṇî*, i. 70–vi. 343 *passim* and the princess Queen Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ of the Chalukya race. *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. iii, p. 305; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 163.


No. III. King Simuka Sâtavâhana (mentioned in No. I. 1–2 as king and lord of the Dakhan)
No. VI. Mahârathi Tranakayiro (mentioned in No. I. as father of the sacrificing queen, and as Mahârathi of the Angiya race)
No. IV. Queen Nâyanikâ (the Queen who offered the sacrifices according to No. I.)
=
King Sâtakani (mentioned as the lord . . . siri in No. I. l. 4)
No. V. Kumâra Bhaya[la] (not found in No. I.)
No. VII. Kumâra Hakusiri (No. I. Sati)
No. VIII. Kumâra Sâtavâhana (Vedisiri in No. I.)

The only difficulties which remain are (1) the discrepancy between the name Sâtakani (No. IV.) and that ending in . . . siri (No. I.), (2) the discrepancy between the names of the two princes in Nos. VII. and VIII. and in No. I. Now, it must be noted that Sâtakani is not a proper name, but a *Birudu* or title, and that we have, at least, one certain case where a king who was called Sâtakani had a second name containing the word—SIRI, in that of the second Gautamîputra of the Nâsik and Kanheri inscriptions, whose complete name is in Prakrit Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakaṇṇi. The fact that the name of the second king in No. II. ends in . . . siri, and in No. IV. is Sâtakani, is, therefore, no obstacle to their identification. As regards the names of the Kumâras the case is somewhat different. The Sanskrit form of the name of the prince called in No. I. "the illustrious Sati" is undoubtedly Śakti. The Prakrit word is the regular representative of Śakti, and we know, from the legendary history of Sâtavâhana,[1] that a Śaktikumâra belonged to his line. Though in general I do not attribute any historical value to those legends, yet I think it cannot be denied that they have correctly preserved some of the names of the persons whose lives they pretend to describe. Now, if Śakti is the Sanskrit etymon of Sati, it is quite possible that *Haku*, which, according to the method of spelling adopted in the old inscriptions, may stand for *Hakku*, is another stronger Prakrit corruption of Śakti.[2] It ought not to be objected that, even admitting the philological possibility of the identification of Sati and Hakku, it is improbable that two such different forms should be used to designate the same individual in two closely allied inscriptions. For, to judge from the examples furnished by other ancient Prakrit inscriptions, the Hindus did not hesitate to vary the forms of names even in one and the same inscription. Thus we find in Nasik No. 14 the forms Pulumâyi, and in the postscript No. 15 Pulumavi, and Bhadâvaniya in No. 14 against Bhadîyaniya in No. 15. Similarly in the Jaggayyapettâ inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 256), where a number of names occur formed with the word *nâga*, "snake," we find sometimes *nâga* and sometimes *nâka* employed. Under these circumstances I not only take Sati and Hakn to denote the same person, but to be two different forms of the same name. If the illustrious Sati and Prince Hakusiri are one, it follows that Vedisiri is another name of Sâtavâhana, and it must be noted that Sâtavâhana is just as little a proper name as Sâtakani, but either a family name or a *Birudu*. It will be observed that the order in which the two

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[1] See *e.g.* Jacobi on the *Prâcharita*, Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, vol. xiv, p. 103.

[2] The change of *sa* to *ha* is not at all uncommon; see Kuhn, *Pâligrammatik*, p. 45, 53 (where Pâli *sarasi*, *sakhi*, and *hasâ* for Sanskrit *srashti* ought to be compared), and the common name *Hamgha* in the Amaravati inscriptions for *Samgha*; that of *kha* to *kha* is just as usual as that of *ka* to *ga*. And there are at least some instances where final *a* appears for *i*, *e.g.* in *Pivadu* (Nâsik inscriptions, Nos. 11 p. 15, 18) for *Pivadi*. See also Kuhn, *Beitrâge*, p. 25.

princes are named differs in the two sets of inscriptions. In the large one Vedisiri stands first and Sati second, while in the short one Hakusiri appears before Sâtavâhana. The cause of this discrepancy probably is that Sati-Haku was the elder by birth, but that the succession to the throne devolved on Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana, either for unknown political reasons, or because the elder brother was dead at the time when the inscription was incised.

In turning now to the second point—the question as to which Andhra kings of the Purâṇik lists, the princes named in the Nânâghât inscriptions have to be identified with,—I must premise that the link which connects the latter with the Andhra dynasty consists in the names Sâtavâhana and Sâtakarni. From the Nasik inscriptions Nos. 1 and 14 we learn that Kṛishṇa, Pulumâyi, and Gautamîputra Sâtakarni I. call themselves members of the "race of Sâtavâhana," and these same kings belong, according to the *Purâṇas*, to the dynasty of the Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas. Again, the title or *Birudo* Sâtakarṇi is given in the cave inscriptions to several members of the Sâtavâhana family, and in the Purâṇik lists, its Sanskrit original, Sâtakarṇi or Śâtakarṇi, appears repeatedly as the name of Andhra kings. Moreover, it has not hitherto been found applied to any other princes but those of the Sâtavâhana-Andhra family, and its use seems to be confined to them. Under these circumstances we may safely infer that wherever we find kings or royal princes bearing the appellation Sâtavâhana or Sâtakarṇi they presumably belong to the Andhra dynasty of the *Purâṇas*, and may be looked for in the lists of those works. Pandit Bhagvânlâl, acting on this principle, identifies the first king of the Nânâghât inscriptions with the thirteenth king of the *Matsya Purâṇa*, called Kuntalasvâti, and the second with the fourteenth of the same list, Svâtikarṇa. In favour of the first conjecture he adduces the fact that Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* speaks of a Kuntalasvâmin-Śâtakarṇi-Śâtavâhana, and he thinks that probably Kuntalasvâmin was a second name of Sâtavâhana. The name Svâtikarṇa is, in his opinion, a corruption of Sâtakarṇi. The basis of this identification is obviously very unsafe, and the Pandit's conjecture becomes very improbable if it is borne in mind that the Nânâghât inscription gives not merely Sâtavâhana, but Simuka Sâtavâhana as the name of the first king. I have already stated why I cannot accept Pandit Bhagvânlâl's explanation of Simuka by *śrîmukha*, "of glorious face," and that Simuka probably is a part of the king's name, because the adjective *sirimato*, "the illustrious one," stands at the end of the inscription, and hence no other adjective of the same or similar import is required. But if Simuka is the proper name, it is not difficult to find in the lists of the *Purâṇas* the person named in the Nânâghât inscription. Simuka-Sâtavâhana is in all probability the first king of the list of the Andhra monarchs, whose name is never given alike in any two works, but according to three *Purâṇas* begins with a *si* or *śi*; according to two, contains in the second syllable the vowel *u*; and according to all ends in *ka*. The *Vâyu Purâṇa* calls the founder of the Andhra dynasty Sindhuka, the *Matsya Purâṇa* Śiśuka, the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* Śipraka and the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* Chhismaka.[1] Now this divergence of the authorities clearly proves that the name was one

[1] Wilson, *Vishnu* (ed. Hall, vol iv, p. 194). Prof. Wilson's assertion that the *Bhâgavata* calls the founder of the Andhra dynasty *Bâlin* is a mistake. For the word *bâli*, which occurs in the verse quoted, must be taken as an adjective, not as a proper name. The real name of the "powerful Śûdra servant of the Andhra race" has been left out. Wilson's assertion that the first Andhra is called Śiśuka in the *Kaumudî Khaṇḍa* I doubt, as I have not found it in the copy which I have examined. But even if Wilson were right the authority of the

which did not readily give any sense if taken as a Sanskrit name, but had a strange, un-Sanskritic form. Hence the copyists blundered badly, and correctors tried to make a Sanskrit word of the unmeaning syllables. To this desire we owe the form Kshipraka (lit., "the swift one"), which, according to Dr. F. E Hall, occurs in some copies of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, the form Śiśuka (lit., "the infant"), and Sindhuka (lit., "born on the Indus." But patent as the fact is that the name of the first Andhra king is badly corrupted in all the *Purâṇas* which give it, there is not one form among those given which might be safely regarded as the original of the others, while it is not too much to say all that can be easily traced to misspellings of *Simuka* or *Śimuka*. The reading of the Vâyu, Sindhuka or Sindhuka goes back to Simuka, Śipraka, and Śiśuka to Śimuka, while Chhismaka, the reading of the *Brahmâṇḍa*, which still preserves the *ma*, owes its initial *chha* to a bad pronunciation of *śa*. Everybody who is conversant with Devanâgarî MSS. will know how common the graphical mistakes which I here impute to the scribes really are. As regards the two forms Śimuka and Simuka, they are for a Hindu, who, if he is not a grammarian, constantly exchanges these two sibilants, and especially before *i* and *e* in many districts always pronounces *ś* for *s*, perfectly identical. Similarly the forms Śâtavâhana and Sâtavâhana, Śâtakarni and Sâtakarni, Vaśishṭha and Vasishṭha; Śâṅkhâyana and Sâṅkhâyana frequently occur in the same work, and it is difficult to decide in such cases, except where the etymology is perfectly certain, which form is the original one. In the case of Simuka it is possible that the form with *s* is the older one, as the word might be derived by the affix *uka* (like *pṛithuka*, *pidhuka*, *kramuka*, &c.) from the rare root *syam*, which according to the grammarians means "to go," "to make a noise," and "to examine" or "consider." *Simuka* might thus mean like the familiar name *Rudra*, "the roarer." But it is also possible that the Prakrit Simuka is a strongly corrupted Apabhraṁśa or Deśî word. Be that as it may be, the identification of Simuka Sâtavâhana with the Sindhuka, Śipraka, &c., of the *Purâṇas*, is not affected by the etymological question. But there are other facts connected with the statements of the inscriptions and of the *Purâṇas* which support the identification. First, if Simuka is the founder of the Andhra dynasty, the fact that he bears the second name Sâtavâhana, agrees well with the fact that the inscriptions give Sâtavâhana-kula "the race of Sâtavâhana" as the family name of the Andhra kings. Secondly, according to the *Purâṇas*, the founder of the Andhra dynasty was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (who appears in the Nâsik inscription No. 1 as Kanha), and the latter by his son Sâtakarni or Śâtakarni. The second king of our short inscriptions is the illustrious Sâtakarni. Now it happens not unfrequently in Indian inscriptions that the genealogy is not given completely, and even important members are left out.[1] Even supposing, therefore, that the Purâṇik account of the order in which the first three Andhras followed one another is correct, there is no obstacle in the usages observed in Hindu inscriptions that prevents us from taking Simuka Sâtavâhana as the paternal uncle of Sâtakarni.

The third argument in favour of the view that these inscriptions belong to the earliest times of the Andhras is furnished by the alphabet. If we compare the characters of the

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Kaumârikâ Khaṇḍa, which appears to be a compilation of the 14th or 15th century A.D. (see my notes, *Bombay Gazetteer*, "Cambay"), would be of no value. Elsewhere (see, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv, p. 165) Sâdilaka is called a minister of Sâtavâhana.

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 60, 124; and vii, 66, where in a grant of Guhasena of Valabhî the name of his father Dharapaṭṭa has been left out.

Nânâghât inscriptions with those used by the later Andhra kings, Gautamiputra, Sâtakarṇi I., and Pulumâyi, at Nâsik and Kârle, the former show the following constant peculiarities, which consist in—(1) the absence of a thickening or small horizontal line or serif at the top of letters which begin with or consist of a vertical stroke, like *ka*, *pa*, *ra*, *va*, &c.; (2) the absence of curves in the lower portions of the letters *ka* and *ra*; (3) the roundness of the letters *pa*, *ya*, *la*, and *ha*, which in the later inscriptions are angular; (4) the form of the letter *da*, which consists of a small vertical top stroke, a deep irregular curve open to the left, and a small vertical stroke at the bottom, which latter, in the later inscriptions, has been changed to a horizontal stroke turned to the right; (5) the form of the letter *chha*, which consists of a circle divided by a long vertical line, while the later inscriptions show two small circles joined together, with a very short vertical over the junction or over the first circle; (6) the use of the symbol *su* for 100 instead of the symbol *śu*. All these peculiarities are archaic, because they agree with the oldest form of the Southern Indian alphabet, *i.e.*, that which the Mauryas use. A number of other letters vary in their forms and sometimes agree with the Maurya characters, and sometimes with those of the later Andhras. In some cases we find other variations which are not traceable elsewhere; thus the initial *a* has the Maurya form in *apratihatachakasa* (No. I. l. 2), and in *angiya* (No. I. l. 4), the later Andhra form in *asa* (No. I. l. 6) and *aso* (No. II. l. 1), and in unusual shape in *asaratho* (No. II. l. 1), *angirasâm* (No. II. l. 5), &c., where the two left hand strokes are curved upwards and downwards. Again, *ra*, *cha*, and *ma* usually show the round Maurya forms, but the first is angular, *e.g.* in *devânâdi* (No. I. l. 1), in *raṇiya* (beginning of No. I. l. 5), and in *devi* (No. IV.), the second has the later shape in *cha* (No. IV.), and the third is angular, *e.g.* in *dhaṇmasa* (No. I. l. 1). Finally, the letters *ga* and *ta* usually agree with those of Pulumâyi's inscriptions. But in *sagara* (No. I. l. 3), and still more in *angira[tira]ja* (No. II. l. 6), the *ga* has the angular form used by the Mauryas. The same remark applies to the *ta* of *satino* (No. I. l. 4), *dhaṇñagiritaṇisa* (No. II. l. 2), and a few other cases.

The inferences as to age drawn from these facts will be considered further on. For the present it will suffice to point out that, according to the epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. But what, in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nâsik inscription (No. 1) of Kanha or Kṛishṇa's reign. In the latter we have the same forms of *da*, *ka*, *ja*, *ya*, *la*, *ra* and *ha*, the same absence of the thickening or serifs at the top of the vertical strokes, and the same vacillation as to the form of *ta* and *ma*. This complete identity of the characters very strongly corroborates my view that the Sâtakarṇi whose wife caused the Nânâghât inscriptions to be incised is the Sâtakarṇi whom the *Purâṇas* call the son of Kṛishṇa and the third Andhra king. In conclusion, I have to add two more remarks. First, I must repeat that I do not feel justified in trusting the assertion of the *Purâṇas* that the third king (Sâtakarṇi) was the son of the second (Kṛishṇa). He may have been the son of the first and have come to rule only after the death of his uncle, for it is a very common occurrence in Indian history that an uncle assumes the government instead of a nephew who is a minor at his father's death. The fact that Kṛishṇa's name does not occur in the Nânâghât inscriptions is not absolutely irreconcilable with the Purâṇik account, but it is more easily explained on the supposition that Sâtakarṇi was Simuka Sâtavâhana's son. A usurper would, of course, not be noticed. The Purâṇik accounts of the Andhras, moreover, as is

well known, are not very accurate, and their being mistaken on such a detail as the exact relationship of the rulers is very probable. Nevertheless, I prefer to leave the question open. Secondly, it might be objected to my theory that the name of the fourth Puranik king, Pûrṇotsanga, does not agree with that of Sâtakarṇi's son, who is called Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana. One answer to this objection would be that the name Pûrṇotsanga is clearly a *Birudu*, and its bearer certainly had one or perhaps more other names. He may, therefore, be identical with our Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana. The difficulty admits, however, of a very different solution. It is not impossible that, though Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana was heir-apparent, he may never have come to rule at all. It must not be forgotten that the Purânik lists contain neither a Vedisiri nor a Sâtavâhana, and the question if our "best of royal princes" ever ruled, or if he is hidden under the name Pûrṇotsanga, must for the present be left undecided.

As regards the third point,—the age of the Nânâghâṭ inscription and the chronological position of Simuka, Kanha, and Sâtakarṇi, I can here only indicate shortly my views,[1] which differ considerably from the chronological theories of Professor Wilson, as well as from those of Mr. Bhân Dâji and Pandit Bhagvânlâl. I find it impossible to trust with Wilson to the statements of the *Purânas* regarding the order and duration of the Maurya, Sunga, Kânvâyana, and Andhra dynasties, and to fix the accession of Simuka-Śipraka, in 21 B.C., by the simple proceeding of adding the years of the first-named three dynasties, and deducting the total from 312, the year B.C. in which Chandragupta's coronation is supposed to have taken place. This method is charmingly simple, but hardly in accordance with the canons of historical research. Its incorrectness is proved by the fact that it throws the reign of Pulumâyi, whom Ptolemy in 150 A.D. mentions as a ruler of Baithana or Paiṭhan, into the fourth century A.D. On the other hand, I am unable to agree with Mr. Bhâû Dâji and Pandit Bhagvânlâl that Gautamiputra Sâtakarṇi I., who overthrew the Kshatrapa Nahapâna, must have done so between 124–135 A.D., because Nahapâna's latest date is Samvat 46, and this Samvat is the Śaka era. Nor can I assume with them that Ptolemy's dictum, "Baithana, the royal residence of Siri-Polemaios," *must mean* that Siri-Polemaios, whom they, following Lassen, rightly identify with Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi's son, Siri-Pulumâyi, ruled at Paithân-Pratishthâna, at or shortly before the time when Ptolemy wrote, *i.e.*, in 150 B.C. Least of all can I concede to Pandit Bhagvânlâl that it is permissible, after upsetting the chronological system of the *Purânas*, to invoke their help for chronological purposes, and assume that the years which some of them allot to the various reigns have been correctly given, and to fix the dates of kings with the help of the Puranik figures. As regards Ptolemy's statement, it gives nothing else but an extreme limit beyond which the reign of Pulumâyi-Polemaios cannot be placed. There are good reasons for believing that the two names denote the same person. But as we do not know from what source Ptolemy drew his information, and as a note like that which he gives would be equally correct both if Pulumâyi lived a long time before the geographer, and if he were his contemporary,[2] it is not possible to make Ptolemy's assertion the starting-point of a chronological calculation. Further, as regards the *Purânas*, their

[1] I trust that I shall soon be able to treat the question more fully in a treatise "On the Royal Inscriptions of the Western Caves."

[2] Similarly a geographer of the present day describing Germany would be quite correct appending to the name *Berlin*, the note, "the capital of Frederic the Great," and a historian of future ages who would infer from this statement that Frederic the Great ruled in 1882, would make, as we all know, a serious blunder.

aim is to bring the history of India into the frame of the Yuga theory. For this purpose their authors have to pile dynasty on dynasty in order to fill a space of many thousand years. Historical research has shown that they possessed *some* reliable information not only as to names, but even as to years. In the case of the Andhra dynasty, the coins and inscriptions prove that the order in which the corrupt forms of the names Gautamiputra Sâtakarni, Pulumâyi, Sakasena (*Sirisena*) Mâdhariputra, and Gautamiputra Yajñaśri Sâtakarni are given, is perfectly correct, as well as that Simuka, Krishna, and Sâtakarni reigned a considerable time before the former princes, and followed each other closely. But it by no means follows that all the other names or the order in which they are given are reliable. Nor is there any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamiputra Sâtakarni I. All these points have to be proved. Though I think it right and necessary, therefore, to look to the *Purâṇas* for the kings mentioned in the inscriptions, I deny the possibility of making up a chronological account of the Andhras with their help. It seems to me that the only means for approximatively fixing the age of the group of kings—1. Simuka, 2. Krishna, 3. Sâtakarni—and of that containing 1. Gotamiputa Sâtakarnni, 2. Pulumâyi, 3. Sakasena Mâdhariputa, 4. Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakarnni and 5. Chandasiri, are epigraphic evidence, and the synchronisms with the Western Kshatrapas, who date according to an era, not according to regnal years. The synchronisms which the inscriptions and ruins allow us to establish are: 1. Gotamiputa Sâtakarnni was a contemporary of Nahapâna. 2. Pulumâyi was a contemporary of Chashṭana. 3. Gotamiputa Siriyaña Sâtakarnni was a contemporary of Rudradâman,[1] whose reign fell between 72 and 101 of the era used by the Western Kshatrapas. The initial point of the latter era can be determined approximatively by the following process. The Kshatrapas ruled over Mâlava, Eastern Râjputânâ, and Gujarât. Their power was destroyed by their immediate successors the Guptas, whose first date in Mâlavâ is the Gupta year 83, while the latest date on the coins of the Kshatrapas is Saṁ 310.[2] These two dates must, therefore, nearly correspond. The Gupta era began about 190 A.D.,[3] and the Gupta year 83 to circiter 273 A.D. Hence the beginning of the Kshatrapa era falls about the middle of the first century B.C., and the reign of Gotamiputa Sâtakarnni I., who destroyed Nahapâna's power, a little earlier. In order to determine the date of the group Simuka, Kanha, Sâtakarni, nothing but the epigraphic evidence is available. It seems to me that a comparison of the characters of Kanha's and of the Nânâghât inscriptions with those on the coins of the earlier Śunga kings, as well as of Dhanabhûti's inscription on the Bharahut gateway, which, owing to its beginning *suganam raje*, i.e. *Śungânâm râjye*, "In the reign of the Śungas," must be counted among the documents of Pushyamitra's successors, incontestably proves that the Nânâghât and Kanha's Nâsik inscriptions belong to the first half of the second century B.C., *i.e.* were incised between 200–150 B.C. It agrees with this estimate that the differences between the characters of Gotamiputa Sâtakarnni's and those of the Nânâghât documents are such that it is not possible to place them, as Pandit Bhagvânlâl has also seen, at a distance of more than about 100 years.

[1] The latter assertion becomes particularly probable by Campbell and Idesveld's discovery of a coin of Sâtakarnni de Reuil on the model of the Kshatrapa coin.

[2] General Cunningham's unpublished coin.

[3] This date is now substantiated by Sir E. C. Bayley's discoveries of Gupta dates on the Kabul coins and other epigraphic evidence.

It now remains to notice the importance of the large inscription for the history of religion and civilisation in India. First, it proves more clearly what indeed may be inferred from the names of some Andhra kings, *e.g.* from Siriyaña or Yajñaśri and from the Nâsik inscription No. 14, that this family from the beginning to the end adhered to the Brahmanical faith, and, though willing to support Bauddha mendicants by liberal gifts, did not follow their heretical teachings. This fact, to which I have pointed already in my introduction to Âpastamba (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxxvi), taken together with the other fact that Southern India produced a number of ancient schools of the *Taittirîya Veda* and of the *Sâmaveda*, some of which seem to have had their home in the Andhra country, disposes of the view frequently advanced that the non-Aryan races of Southern India owe their civilisation to Buddhism and Jainism, and that Brahmanism is, in Southern India, a modern interloper. Secondly, the second part of the large inscription shows that the assertion made in the school-books of the Brâhmans regarding the costliness of the great Vedic or Srauta sacrifices are not exaggerated, and that the so-called *Dânastuti's*, occurring in the *Rigveda*, name comparatively speaking small largesses which the Rishis received from their royal patrons. Thirdly, the invocation *namo Saṅkarshaṇa-Vâsudevânam Chaṇḍasûtânam mahimâvatûnam*, "adoration to the two descendants of the Moon, Saṅkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, who are endowed with majesty," furnishes an important addition to the materials proving the early prevalence of the worship of Krishṇa and his family in other countries than the Doab, where the Greeks already found the club-bearing Krishṇa-Vishṇu installed as the tutelary deity.

II. Kanheri Inscriptions.

The first fifteen inscriptions, given below, have been read according to the facsimiles on pl. ii. For the following ones I have used Dr. West's eye-copies (*Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 1–14) and some unpublished materials. A portion of the Kanheri inscriptions has been translated by Dr. Stevenson in his usual style (loc. cit. vol. v. p. 1 *seqq.*)

No. 1 (West's No. 1) beneath a standing figure of Buddha, in a recess behind the dâgobâ Cave No. II.—

1 Nannavaḍya
2 nâṇa
3 Bhâ-karah
4 Bhâvarâh
5 Chellaḍeva
6 Boppa
7 Bhaṭṭa Khasu avvai po
8 hoi [‖]

The inscription, which shows some Sanskrit nominatives, and ends with two Prakrit words, seems to record merely the names of some Brahmans who visited the cave, viz., *Nanna*, *i.e.*, *Nânâ*, a physician; *Bhâskar*, *Bhâvari*, *Chelladeva*, *Boppa*, *i.e.*, *Vopadeva*, and a priest or Bhaṭṭji, whose name may be read *Khasu* or *Besu*. The concluding two Prakrit words are not quite clear to me, but it seems likely that their meaning is equivalent to the Jaina phrase *nityaṁ prayamati*, which is often read on votive statues. *Avva-i* might stand for Sanskrit *aryayam*, or *aryaye*. Alphabet, Western type of the fourth or fifth century.

No. 2, on the back wall of Cave II.[1] above a bench—

1. Nâgânakasa Nâka-
2. gamasa sata deyadhamma [||]

—"A seat, the meritorious gift of Nâganaka (Nâkanaka), (*an inhabitant*), of Nâsik."

The word *sata* is probably a corruption of Sanskrit *sadah*. Language, Pâli; characters, Andhra type of the time of Pulumâyi, or a little earlier.

No. 3, in the same cave, near a tank—

1. Kalîyana[nâ] savanako[hâ]nasa Samida-
2. tasa saha sagha[ghe]na puvi[ya]ka deyadhamma [||]

—"A cistern (?), the meritorious gift of the goldsmith Samidata (Svâmidatta), of Kalyâna (*associated*) with the community (*of ascetics and lay brethren*)."

Dr. West's facsimile reads plainly *Kalinhyana* (ablat.) which is required, and *saghâne*, *i.e. saghena* or *saghenâ*. Language, Pâli; Letters, Andhra; Date, about or shortly after Pulumâyi's time.

No. 4, on the right-hand gate-post of the Chaitya cave (No. III.)—

1. Rañño Gotam[iputasa Sâmi-Siriyañasa]
2. Sotakamnissa [sahvachare . . . . . gi][2]
3. mhapakhe pamchame [5 divase . . . . .]
4. s'imjakehi utû(?) . . . . .][3]
5. nuya upâsakehi gi[. . . . .]
6. bhâtiyehi bhâtû[hi . . . . .]
7. Gaja-sena Gajami[tena . . . . .]
8. kapathâyi chetî[ya . . . . .]
9. âchariyânam nikâ[yasa . . . . Bhâdâya]
10. niyâmam parigahe pa[tiṭṭhâpitam . . . . . mi]
11. tapitûnam abhatitâ[nam] . . . . .]
12. pûjâya kutumbini[na bâla]kânam bâli[kânañ]
13. savakasa[4] bhâgineyyâna nikâ[i]yena nadî]
14. vagasa cha agi patisiya sattasa[tânañ]
15. hitasukhâya hetu [|] etha cha nava . .]
16. kâ pavajito theri bhadata-Âchali bhadan[ta-]
17. Gahali bhadanta Vijayamitî bhadata Do[dhiko]
18. bhadata-Dhammajitâ upâsako cha negamo A[nanda]
19. puto Apatenuko samapitâ[ ] âchari[y]ân therânañ
20. bhadata Sanâlânam sa-na uparalhitâna bha[5]
21. dana Bodhisena kata selavaghabhâ [niya]kami
22. sehi Indhisha[ṭa]hi nahâsatak[a]hi bhadan-
23. kâni cha mâthikâni [||]

("*On the . . . day*) of the fifth fortnight of the hot season (*of the . . . year*) of the king, the son of the Gautamî queen (*the lord Siriyañ*) Sâtakarṇi. By the merchants . . . . . , born of . . nu, ... the *Bhâtiya* brothers . . . . . Gajasena, Gajamitra . . . . . (*was erected*) a *chaitya* which will endure until the end of the *kalpa*.

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[1] See *ante*, vol. IX, p. 63.

[2] Possibly *unha* is to be read.

[3] Read *Sâtakaṇṇisa*.

[4] Possibly *sa-ta-* *tam* to be read.

[5] Read *uparalhitâna*, *bha* looks like *ta*.

in honour of their deceased parents . . . . . and, after securing a most excellent share (*of the merit*) for their wives, sons, daughters, stepbrother, the crowd of their sister's sons and the multitude (*of their blood relations, also*) for the well-being and happiness of all sentient creatures. And . . . . an ascetic, the *Thera*, the reverend Achala, the reverend Gahala, the reverend Vijayamitra, the reverend Bodhika, the reverend Dharmapâla and the lay worshipper, the merchant Aparenuka, the son of Ânanda, have completed (this) new (?) . . . here (*The work has been*) executed by the reverend Bodhika, the pupil of the teacher (*and*) *Thera*, the reverend Semhla, (*who acted* as) overseer, together with the stonemasons . . . . . and with the polisher *Skandaraki* (Khadaraki)."

Regarding the state of the inscription and the causes of its mutilation, see Dr. West, *loc. cit.* The restoration [*Bhâdâya*]*nîyânam* (l. 9) is supported by No. 37, (West) l. 2. The wording of the latter inscription must be compared for the next phrases of our inscription (l. 10–15). At the end of line 13 *mita* or *bandhu* may also be thought of. It is difficult to offer a plausible conjecture for the restoration of the end of line 15. I think of *nara-kammam*, which must have been followed by the name of the *pavajito*, the last syllable of whose name *kâ* (read *ko*) is preserved in l. 16. It seems to me that the Kanheri Chaitya was begun by the merchants Gajasena, Gajamita, &c., and finished by the persons named in l. 15–19. The name *Anada* (l. 18) may be restored according to No. 15 (West, 44—l. 3, 4), where the names of Aparenuka's relatives are given in full. For the active meaning of *samâpitâ* "have completed," compare paṭiṭhâpita "has erected" in the Jaggayyapeṭṭa inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 256). *Semhla* is a curious name, but may stand for *Śaivala*. Ll. 22, 23 contain several difficult words which apparently denote various artisans. The modern Gujarâti *kadiyo*, "bricklayer," may be compared with *kadhichaka*.

No. 5, on the left-hand gate-post of the Chaitya cave (No. III.)—

1. . . . . khabhâlakaresu adha-
2. . . . . a[ha .]ch[e]tiasa bha
3. . . . . hikârasa . [pa]vayitâna ya
4. . . . akhaya nivi [da]tâ Sopârakâhâre hâ
5. . . . [ṭa]m 3 Kâhaṇe Alâlikâvihâre cheti
6. . . . upaṭhânasâl[â] ovarakâni Paiṭhâne vihâ
7. . . . ṭigupasadari[ya] chetiaghara ovarakâ terasa
8. . sa-akhayanivikâ [R]âjataḷâka-Paiṭhânapathe
9. . sapa chuḷḷika . ya kuṭi kodhi cha chopiṭâ sada-
10. sevâjuya [vihâ]re saghârâmo sa-akhayanivitho k[a]
11. ripito pu[ña]tha deyadhammâni cha anâni pi [kâri]tâni [‖]

This inscription appears to record, besides a benefaction at Kanheri, various meritorious gifts which the donor bestowed at other places on the Bauddha monks. The fragments permit us to recognise the following details:—1. Some addition seems to have been made to the Chaitya at Kanheri (l. 2). 2. A perpetual endowment, the purpose and nature of which have been lost, was given (l. 3). 3. In the Zilla of Sûpârâ (Sopârakâhâre) three (possibly cells) were added to some building (l. 4, 5). 4. In the Ambâlikâvihâra situated at Kalyâna (Kalhene in the Konkan), a *Chaitya*, a hall of reception (*upaṭhânasâlâ*) and cells for the monks (*ovaraka*) were built (l. 5, 6). 5. At Paiṭhân (Paṭiṭhâne) a *Chaitya-griha* and thirteen cells for the monks (*ovarakâ terasa*) together with a perpetual endowment (*sa-akhayanivikâ*) were given (l. 6, 8). 6. In the *pargana* or *tâlukâ* of Paiṭhân,

called Râjatalâka (?), a small temple (*kuṭi*) and a hall (*ḍodhi*) were erected[1] at the vihâra of Sevâju (?), (l. 8–10). 7. A monastery (saghârâmo) was built (*kârâpito*) and endowed with a perpetual grant (*sa-akkayaniviko*). These and other meritorious gifts were made, as the donor adds, for his own benefit (*pu[ña]tha*). Alphabet, Andhra type of the time after Pulumâyi.

No. 6, under a figure of Buddha in the verandah of the Chaitya Cave (No. III.)—

1. Buddhasya bhagavatas sâsmânukârittenâpi[1]kopâddhyâya
2. bhadanta-Dharmmavatsa-śishyasya bhikshor Buddhaghoshasya
3. mahâgandhakuṭîvârikasya Bhagavat-pratimeyam deyadharmmah [||]

—"This image of Bhagavat, (*Buddha, is*) the meritorious gift of the ascetic Buddhaghosha, the guardian of the great *gandhakuṭî*, and pupil of the reverend Dharmavatsa, a teacher of the three *Piṭakas*, who follows the religion of divine Buddha."

The reading *vârikasya* (see, however, the *Pet. Dict.*, sub. voce *nâgavârika*) is not absolutely certain. It may be *châṛika*, and be translated "who undertook a pilgrimage to the great *gandhakuṭî*." By the latter term, as the position of the inscription shows, the great Chaitya is meant. Language, Sanskrit; letters, Western alphabet of the fourth or fifth century A.D.

No. 7, under another figure of Buddha[2] in the verandah of Cave No. III.—

Deyadharmmoyam Śâkya-bhikshoṣ[r] Dharmmaguptasya [||]

—"This (*is*) the meritorious gift of the Buddha ascetic Dharmagupta."

Letters and language as those of the preceding.

No. 8, on a small bas-relief dâgoba in the verandah of Cave No. III.—

Ye dharmmâ hetuprabhavâ teshâ[. . . .]

The beginning of the Buddhist creed. Language and letters as those of No. 6.

No. 9, inside a small chamber to the left of the entrance of the Chaitya Cave (No. III.)—

1. Deyadha-
2. rmmoyam bha
3. chârya-
4. Buddhara
5. kshitasya [|]
6. anena
7. sarvva-
8. tvâ Buddhâ
   bhavantu [||]

—"This (*is*) the meritorious gift of the teacher Buddharakshita. May all living beings thereby become Buddhas."

Letters and language as those of No. 6.

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[1] *Cf. upâdi*, compare Gujarati *chaṛavavu*, "to build."

[2] See vol. iv, p. 61.

No. 10, in the small chamber, No IV. (West), just north of the Chaitya Cave[1]—

1. Sidhaṁ heraṇikasa Dhaṁmarakasa bhayâ
2. Sivapâlitaṇikâya deyadhaṁma
3. theriya bhayata-Dhaṁmapâlâṇaṁ
4. thaṁbha [‖]

—"Success! The stûpa of the Thera, the reverend Dhammapâla (Dharmapâla), the meritorious gift of Śivapâlitaṇikâ, the wife of the goldsmith Dhamaṇaka (Dharma)."

West's No. 10. Mr. West's facsimile reads plainly *bhayôa*, *i.e.*, *bhayâya*, while Pandit Bhagvânlâl's omits the final *a*. Date of the inscription, the interval between Pulumâyi and Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakaṁṇi II.

No. 11, in a recess over the tank, No. V. (West) on the path up the hill—

1. . . . . [Vâ]sishth[î]putrasya śri-Sâta[karṇi]h[s]ya deyâ[ḥi] Kârddamakarâjavaṁsapra[bha]v[â]y[â] mahâ-kshatra[pa] Ru . [p]utry[âḥi] . . .
2. . . . . sya . . . v[i]śvasyasya amâtyasya Sâteraḥasya pâṇîyabhâ[ja]naṁ deyadharm[m]a[ḥ] ‖

—"Of the queen . . . of the illustrious Sâtakarṇi Vâsishṭhîputra, descended from the race of Kârddamaka kings, (*and*) daughter of the Mahâkshatrapa Ru(*dra*) . . . . . of the confidential minister Śâteraka, a water-cistern, the meritorious gift."

As the connection between the royal lady, mentioned in l. 1, and the minister in l. 2, is not clear, I can do no more than translate the remaining words literally. It seems, however, probable that the minister executed the work at the command of the queen. Language, Sanskrit; alphabet, Western Kshatrapa type of the times of Rudradâman I. *Kârddamaka* probably means "of (*the town* or country of) *Kardama*." A locality called *Kardamala* is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*, see the *Petb. Dict.*, s. voce. For further historical combinations see *Ind. Ant.* xii, "On the relationship between the *Andhras* and the *Kshatrapas*."

No. 12, above a tank with two openings to the left of Cave No. VII.—

1. Sopâragâ negama-
2. sa Samilupâsaka-
3. sa podhi deyadhaṁma [‖]

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of the lay-worshipper Samika [Śramika?, Svâmika?], a merchant of Supârâ [Śorpâraka]"

Language, Pâli; letters, Andhra type of the time of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁṇi I. or Pulumâyi.

No 13, close to the preceding—

1. Chemulakasa heraṇikasa
2. Rohiṇimitasa putasa
3. Sulasadattasa podhi
4. deyadhaṁma [‖]

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of Sulasadatta, son of the goldsmith Rohiṇimitra of Chemula" (Simylla, Chenval, or Chaul).

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[1] See vol. iv, p. 63.

Language, Pali. Letters, Andhra. Date, the period between Sâtakarṇi of the Nânâghât and Gotamiputa Sâtakarṇi I., as is shown by the archaic form of the letter *da* and the prevalence of round strokes in *sa*, *pa*, *ha*, and *ya*.

No. 14 (West's No. 19), outside the verandah of Cave No. XXXVI.—

1. Sidham rño Ma[Mâ]dhariputasa Svâmi-Sakasenasa
2. savachhare 8 gi pa 5 divase 10 etâya puvâya ha
3. liyanakasa nekamasa Venhunamdira pûtasa lega
4. masa gahapatisa . . . tisa l[e]na pa[ti]thâpi
5. ta sahâ âyyak[e]na . sena sahâ pîtu[mâ] Venhuna
6. dinâ sahâ mâtuye Bodhisamâya sahâ bhâ-
7. [tunâ . .] hathinâ sahâ [sa]vena [ni][kâyenaṁ]

—"Success! On the tenth day of the fifth fortnight of the hot season, in the eighth year of the king, the lord Śakasena, the son of the queen of the Mâṭharâ (Mâdharâ) race. On the above (day) the merchant and householder . . . . . ti, the son of the merchant Vishnunandin (Venhunamdi), an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa, made a cave, (*he being associated*) with the venerable . . . . ., with his father Visnunandin, with his mother Bhadhisamâ, with his brother . . . . hastin (hathi), and with the whole multitude (*of his relatives*)."

Sakasena appears plainly on Mr. West's eye copy, while on Dr. Burgess's facsimile it looks like *Sikasena*. Bhagvânlâl's emendation (*Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xii, p. 408) *Sirisena* requires confirmation. According to Bhagvânlâl's facsimile the name of the donor ends in *tta*, according to Dr. Burgess's in *ti* (*Sivabhâti*?). Regarding the place which Mâdhariputa Sakasena holds among the Andhra kings, see Bhagvânlâl's remarks, *loc. cit.*, and vol. xiii, pp. 306, 307.

No. 13 (West's No. 41), on the left-hand side wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXXI.[1]—

1. Sidham ||
2. Rño Gotamiputasa Sâmi-Sirîyaña-Sâtakanisa sâta[va]hanasa 16 gi[2]
3. mh[i]na pakha 1(?) divase 5 Kâlayanaṁ vithivasa negamasa Apa-
4. daputasa un[pa]-sakasa Aparenu[3] sa[na]rivârasa sahâ
5. Imlubinîya Ânadamâtu Anu(?)vindik[â]ya sahâ bâlakena Anadena
6. saha cha suuh[â]hi Aya . . . h . sipecha(?) dhâmadev[î]ya
7. saha [cha] . . . veṇa Ahavi(?) ayana âmâpitaro udisa[2]
8. pîva[te] Kanhasele leṇaṁ kodhi cha devadhâma[ni] chitudise
9. bhikhusaghe paditthâpita sivarat[â]yaṁ hitasughatha [||]
10. etasa cha akhayanîvi datâ kahâpaṇa[ṁ] satâni be 200
11. saghasa yeva hathe patike sate ekhi cha âdhapaṇa.
12. Lhetiyaña khetâ gâme Magadhiñâne bhoji layati eto
13. saṁghena dîtavaṁ chivarika sabhâ[ṁ] patiko cha mâ[3]e utukile [||]

—"Success! On the 5th day of the 1st (?) fortnight of the hot season, in the year 16 of the king, the son of the queen of the Gautamî (*race*), the lord Sirîyaña Sâtakarṇi. The lay-worshipper Aparenu, the son of Ânanda (Ânuda), a merchant residing in Kalyâṇa,

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[1] See *Arch. Rep.*, vol. iv, p. 70.

[2] 1. 2. Possibly Sirîyaña | the last *na* of Sâtakarṇi stands below the line.

[3] 1. 7. The letters in the middle of the line are very indistinct and uncertain, perhaps *pâtavâsa* or *dâna* to be read.

has excavated, together with (*his*) family, (viz.) together with (*his*) wife Juvârinikâ (?), the mother of Ânanda (Anada), together with his son Ânanda (Anada) and together with his daughters-in-law, (*the wives of*) Ânanda . . . . . Dharmadevi (Dhâmadevi) and together with . . . . . a cave and a hall, in the mountain, the hill of Krishna (Kanhasela) for the community of the ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (*to be*) a meritorious gift for the benefit of his own parents, and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings.

"And he has given a permanent endowment (*of*) two hundred *kârshâpaṇas*, 200, even into the hand of the community, two hundred bearing (*a monthly interest of*) one *kârshâpaṇa*. And here the field of the *half-paṇa*-owner, in the village of Mangalasthâna (*Maṅgalathâṇa*) may be enjoyed. Out of (*the interest and the revenue of*) that the community shall give 'a piece of sixteen' for clothing and in the season the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* a month."

The date of the inscription proves that the figure 19 or 20, which some copies of the Purâṇas give for the duration of Yajñaśri's reign, comes nearer the truth than Professor Wilson's statement that he ruled nine years only. The endowments appear to be two—(1) a principal of two hundred kârshâpaṇas, bearing one per cent a month (see *Arch. Rep.*, vol. iv, p. 102, No. 9), and (2) half a share of the produce of a field at Mañgalasthâna, the modern Magthân, which lies in the neighbourhood of the caves (*Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, p. 13). I take *âdhapaṇa-khetiyasa*, which, as this inscription invariably lengthens a short *a* after which an *r* has been elided, stands for *ardhapaṇakshetriyasya*, in the same sense as the modern Indian an eight-Âṇâ or half-rûpî, owner. These phrases are used to denote a person who possesses a right to half a share in a property. I assume that Aparena possessed the field in question, together with an unnamed co-partner, and made over his share of the produce for religious purposes. I intentionally translate *saṁgha* by "the community," and understand thereby the whole Bauddha community of Kalyâṇa, not the ascetics alone. *Saṁgha* seems to have in this case the same meaning in which the Jainas invariably used and still use it, viz. the community of the faithful, both lay and cleric.

No. 16 (West's No. 16) on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. XII.—

1. S[i]dha[m] Kâlira[ña] . . sa . . . ṇa S[i]ṁmitasa putasa nega
2. ma . . Dhama . . . . . Budhakena saha cha savena pariva-
3. rena bava (?) . . . . ha[ṁ]sam pûjayapoḍha âsaṇapaḍhikâ-
4. yo pâdho a . . . cha kamo cha deyadhama châtudise bhikhusaṁghe pa-
5. tthâpita mâ[tâ]pitaro udisa savasatubitasughatha [|]
6. etha cha akhayaṇivi cha dâtâ [|]
7. eto cha visuvate vasatisa bhikhuno chivarikakâlâpaṇâ solasa pâte l[e][1]
8. si upâhaṇa[ṁ][2] cha kâhâpano utuhâle [cha] paḍiko mâse vasitasa dâ-
9. tavo sesena leṇa paḍiagitava [|] Kâliyaṇe cha vihâre Gadulhârikâbhani-
10. ya[ṁ] bhagabhaṁ bhojanachâtusila cha deyadhamma [|] etesi pi akhâ[3] nivi dâtâ Mulabadasiva-
11. ya [vâ]ṇiya nivesanaṁ[|]to be bhikâ bigabhisa bhikâ châturasisa vihâra dakâni chivara-[4]
12. kâni châturasila cha [bhika ||][5]

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[1] L. 7. For the last sign, *le*, the vowel is indistinct.
[2] L. 8. The *ni* of *upâhaṇâya* stands below the line.
[3] L. 10. *Lege akhayâ.*
[4] L. 11. Possibly *nithâyam*. Read *vihâre*.
[5] L. 12. The last two signs are indistinct, and one might read chatalsa [chatushi-].

—"Success! . . . a cave, a water-cistern, benches for sitting on, a chair, a . . . . . and a flight of stairs (?), have been erected for the community of monks from the four quarters of the horizon (*as*) the meritorious gift of the merchant Dharma . . ., the son of Sivamitra . . . . . an inhabitant of Kalyâna (*he being associated with*) . . . . . Buddhaka and with his whole family, in honour of his parents, and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has been given there. And out of (*the interest of*) that, sixteen *kârshâpaṇas* are to be given (*to defray the expense*) for clothes to the ascetic who resides (*in the cave*) during the rainy season, some trifle for (*his*) alms-bowl, and one *kârshâpaṇa* for (*his*) shoes, and in the season (*the value*) of one *kârshâpaṇa* a month to him who dwells (*there*). With the remainder the cave is to be kept in repair. And in the monastery at Kalyâṇa, in the Gandhârikâ-bhamî, a (house) with two apartments and a quadrangular dining-hall (*have been built as*) a meritorious gift. A perpetual endowment has been given for these also (*viz.*), a dwelling-house in the *Mukuḍasivagiṇî*. Out of (*the rent of*) that two shares (are to be spent) on the house with two apartments, (*three*) shares on the quadrangular hall, ten (shares) are (*to be given to the ascetics*) in the monastery for clothes, and one share (*to those*) in the quadrangular hall."

The exact meaning of *utukâle paḍiko mâse vasatasa dâtaro* is not quite clear to me. Possibly food of the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* is meant. *Paḍiagitara* is the fut. part. pass. of a denominative, derived from Sanskrit *pratyaṅga*, Pali *paccaṅga*. *Gamdhârikâ-bhamî* is apparently the name of a ward or street of Kalyâna (Kalliene in the Konkana), and *bhamî* is probably derived from the Sanskrit *bhramî*, "circle, arrangement of troops in a circle," &c. In the present day the Anglo-Indian equivalent would be "*the Kâbâli Bazâr.*" *Mukuḍasivagiṇî* or *yithâ* is, of course, likewise the name of a ward of the town. No numeral is appended to the second *bhâkâ* (*bhâgâḥ*); hence the plural has to be taken in its original sense of "*three.*" The total of the shares amounts to sixteen, and this shows that the now usual division according to Âṇâ-shares (16 Âṇâs=1 Rûpî) is exceedingly old.

The alphabet of the inscription is of the Andhra type, of the times of Gotamîputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṇṇi.

After *datâ* (l. 6) a large blank space of one and a half lines has been left. Probably it was intended to insert the nature of the first-mentioned perpetual endowment.

No. 17 (West's No. 17) on the left-hand side-wall of the porch of Cave No. XIX.—

1. Sidhaṃ âcharâ[ṇa] bhayatitâ[ṇa] bhâtuno pavajitasa Ânadasa
2. leṇa leṇadhammaṃ saghe [|] âchâyaṃ dinâ [|] eto chîvarikaṃ dîta
3. va chhaṭa . . . ṇaṃ saha sâveḥi ñâtihi [|]

—"Success! A cave, the meritorious gift of the ascetic Ânanda (Ânada), the brother of the teacher, the reverend (Antara?), for the community of ascetics. A permanent endowment has been given. Out of (*the interest of*) that (*the expense*) for clothes is to be given to (*the ascetics*). (*The giver is associated*) with all his blood-relations."

Letters, Andhra type, about the time of Gotamîputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṇṇi. The name of the reverend teacher has been given according to Dr. West's copy.

No. 18 (West's No. 18) on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. XXIX.—

1. Sidhaṃ Kalimakaṃ nigamasa Gotamîputa[ṃ] negamasa Isipâlasa
2. [u]pâsikâya mâtipitunaṃ

3 puyatha lena podhi cha deyadhamm-
4 ma ‖ akhayanivi cha dinâ gime
5 Saphânsu kheta thapati [ ] ‹to
6 cha vasa-uthasa chivarika hirasaka
7 gimhâsu paḍiko mâse se[na
8 matape pavide cha paḍiogitava [‖]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern, the meritorious gifts of the merchant Rishipâla (Isipâla) (*who is associated*) with his family, the son of the merchant Golanaka, an inhabitant of Kalyâna, in honour of his parents.—A perpetual endowment has been given (*viz.*) a field in the village of Saphâu . . . . And out of (*the rent of*) that 'a piece of twelve' (*shall be given to the ascetic*) who keeps the *vasso* (*to defray the expense*) for clothes, in the hot season the value of one *kârshâpana* (*each*) month; with the remainder the minor repairs shall be done in the Maṇḍapa and the Pravâḍa."

Alphabet, Andhra type of, or shortly after the time of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṇṇi.—The feminine plural *gimhâsu*, *i.e.*, *grishmâsu*, probably caused by the analogy of *varshâsu*, is unusual. *Matapa*, *i.e.*, *maṇḍapa*, seems to denote the cave. *Pavâḍa*, *i.e.*, S. *pravâḍa* or *prabâla*, "a young sprout, or a coral," must have here a technical meaning. A line of small letters, incised under the first ten *aksharas* of line 1, which seems to have been a postscript, is illegible in the facsimiles.

No. 19 (West's No. 20) outside the verandah of Cave No. XXXVI.—

1 Sadha ra Ma[dhariputasa Sâmi Sakase-
2 [nasa . . . . . [dh]â 10 etâyi (?)
3. . . . . vaṭhaveya Venhun idiputra-
4. [sa] . . . . . sa bhajâya Hâlanikâ le-
5. [na paṭiṭhâpita sa]hâ âyakena Lâ . . . sa . . . . .
6. . . . . Dhâmaye . . . . . .
7. . . . . Buddhakayena sahâ vi . . . .

This inscription, which is found in the same cave as No. 14, apparently records the gift of the second room attached to the larger one, by the wife of the donor mentioned in the preceding inscription, the son of Venhunandi or Vishnunandin. It seems to have been incised on the same day as No. 14, as the remaining letters show that the king was the same Mâḍhariputa Sakasena. Though Dr. West has *Sara*, I think the last three signs of line 1 of the facsimile point to *Sakase*. In line 3, Dr. West has *vathavesa*; the correct reading is probably *vaṭhavasa*, "an inhabitant" (*of Kalyâṇa*), as in No. 14.

No. 20 (West's No. 23) on the back wall of the open gallery No. XXXIX.—

[Sidham Sop]târayaka-a manḍharasa Nâgapâlitasa saparivârasa lena deyadhama [‖]

—"Success! A cave, the meritorious gift of Nâgapâlita, a jeweller from Śorpâraka (*who is associated*) with his family."

For the form *Sopârayakasa* compare Nânâghâṭ, inscription No. IX. The transcript has been made with the help of Dr. West's facsimile. Alphabet, Andhra type, about the time of Pulumâyi.

No. 21 (West's No. 24) over a tank near the entrance of Cave No. XLIII.—

1. Sidha thu[ṇa bhayanta Ghos[â]na atevâsiniyo
2. pavattikha P[o]nakisaṇâ thoriya lena
3. . . . pânîyapodhî cha deyadhamma saha bhaga-
4. niya saha cha . . . samaṇapapaakehi châtu-
5. disa bhikhusaghe patiṭhâpitâ ma[târâtaro cha]
6. sa [|] akhaya nivi cha saghasa dinâ kâhâpaṇa satâni be [||]
7. eto chiṇṇika sola cha pujho mise cha utukâle sava-
8. l[o]kahitasughatha [||]

—"Success! A cave . . . and a water-cistern, have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters, as the meritorious gift of the female ascetic, the *therî* Ponakisaṇâ, the pupil of the *thera*, the reverend Ghosha, (*she being associated*) with (*her*) sister, and with . . . . . the *Samaṇapapaakas*, for the benefit of her parents. And a perpetual endowment has been given to the community (*of monks*, viz.), two hundred *kârshâpaṇas*. Out of (*the interest of*) that 'a piece of sixteen' (*shall be given*) for clothes, and the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* (*each*) month in the season——(*the grant has been made*) for the welfare and happiness of the whole world."

I am unable to determine the meaning of the compound *samaṇapapaakehi*, though the first part is clearly *śramaṇa*. Possibly it may be a mistake for samaṇopâsakehi, "with the monks and laymen." Alphabet, Andhra type, of the time of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṇṇi.

No. 22 (West's No. 25) on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. XLVIII.[1]—

1. . . . thoṇakâ[ṇa] [therâ]ṇa[bha]yata Hâ[la]kâṇa ma
2. . . tisa Kaṇhasa deyadhamaṃ leṇaṃ p[o]ḍh[i] k[o]ḍhi [cha]
3. [pa]ṭiṭhâpitâ [|] akhaya nivi cha dinâ kâhâpaṇâna . . . .
4. . . . . satâ sa[ghe] eto cha bhikhusaghe chevarika dâtava hôsa-
5. [ha . . . . .] sa savalokahitasukhaya ti [||]

—". . . . . a cave, a cistern, and a hall have been excavated, as the meritorious gift of Kaṇha (Krishṇa) . . . . . of the thera the reverend Hâlaka. And a perpetual endowment (viz.) . . . . hundreds of *kârshâpaṇas* has been given. Out of (*the interest of*) that 'a piece of twelve' shall be given to the community of ascetics for clothes. . . . . for the welfare and happiness of all people."

Probably the first two lines have to be restored, as follows: [*Sidhaṃ Kaṇhi*] *aṇakâ*[*ṇa*] [*therâ*]*ṇa*[*bha*]*yata Hâ*[*la*]*kâṇa aṇ*[*tevâsi*]*sa Kôṇhasa*, &c.

The importance of the inscription consists in the name Kaṇha, Krishṇa, which furnishes another proof for the worship of Krishṇa in the Konkaṇ,[2] and in the form *chevarika* (Sanskrit, *chaivarika*), which proves more clearly than the usual *chivarika* that "for clothes," not "cloth," is the meaning of the word. Alphabet as in the preceding inscription.

No. 23 (West's No. 31) on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. LVIII.—

1. Sidhaṃ therâṇaṃ bhayata Mitabhûtiṇaṃ
2. leṇaṃ sâgaraputagaṇâṇa deyadhamaṃ [|]

—"Success! The cave of the *thera*, the reverend Mitrabhûti, the meritorious gift of the Sâgaraputagaṇas (?)."

[1] See vol. iv, p. 68.

[2] See vol. iv, p. 9.

Dr. West's copy shows only *nam* in the difficult word *sâgarapalogaṇânaṁ*, while the unpublished one has above the line *nâ* and below the line *na* and an *anusvâra* above the line. It is possible that the mason wished to remove the *nâ* and to substitute *naṁ*. If that is the case, and the whole has to be read *sâgarapalogaṇaṁ*, the latter might be taken as a genitive plural, and the whole be translated "of the people who protect the ocean," *i.e.* either "of a community of traders by sea," or "of an admiralty-board." The reading *sâgarapalogaṇânaṁ* would be equivalent to Sanskrit for *sâgarapralokanânâm* "of those looking after the ocean." Alphabet, Andhra type of Pulumâyi's time or a little later. The *t* shows the form which is constantly used in the Kudâ inscriptions.

No. 24 (West's No. 32), in a recess over the tank in Cave No. LIX.[1]

1. [Sidhaṁ Kaḷi]ṇikâya Bhoigiyâ A-
2. [pa]râitikâya Dâmilâya leṇaṁ
3. [no]dhi cha Kaṇhasele deyadhammaṁ [‖]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern on the hill of Krishṇa, the meritorious gift of Dâmilâ, Bhojikî of the Koṅkaṇ (Aparânta), an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa.

This inscription has been restored according to Dr. Stevenson's transcript, whose Pandit, as Dr. West states, destroyed the beginning of the lines. The epithets *Bhoigiyâ. Íparâitikâya*, of course, mean that the husband of Dâmilâ was Bhojaka, *i.e.* the ruler, of the Koṅkaṇ. Alphabet, Andhra type, earlier than the inscriptions of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṇṇi I.

No. 25 (West's No. 33), on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. LIX.—

1. Sidhaṁ Kâḷiyiṇikâya bhikhuṇiya Dâmilâya leṇa deyadhammaṁ
2. podhi cha [‖]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern, the meritorious gift of the female ascetic Dâmilâ, an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa."

It would seem that the small letters *podhi cha* in the second line are intended as a correction, and to be inserted after *leṇa* as the sense requires. Alphabet, Andhra type, of the time of Pulumâyi.

No. 26 (West's No. 35), on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXVIII.—

1. . . . . pâḷi[naṁ] [aṁteva]sisa
2. . . . . naṁasa . . . [ni]tanakasa pavajitasa
3. . . . . leṇa (?) . . . pâniya-podhi cha
4. [deya]dhaṁma [châtu]ddise bhikhu-saghe pati-
5. ṭhâpitaṁ mâtâpitaro uddisa savasatâṇaṁ
6. hitasukhaṭha apano cha nivâṇasabhaṇaṭha [‖] etasa cha akhayanîvi di[ṇâ ‖]

—"By the pupil of . . . . . pâla, the ascetic . . mitanaka, a cave (*t*) and . . a water-cistern have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon; for the benefit (his) parents, for the welfare of all living beings, and for the fulfilment of the hope of final liberation for himself. And a perpetual endowment has been given by him."

Alphabet, Andhra type, about the time of Pulumâyi.—*Nivâṇasabhaṇaṭha* would be in Sanskrit *nirvâṇâśâdharaṇârtham*, but the idiom is Gujarâti or Marâṭhi.

[1] See *Arch. Report*, vol. iv, p. 61.

No. 27 (West's No. 37), on the left-hand side-wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. LXX.—

1. . . . . lenam pâniya[podhi cha] . . .
2. . . . . pa Bhâdhayanijjânam pratigahe [|] etta[1] pûnam
3. . . . . mâtuya cha Nandhuṭhikâ bhâṭiya gharaniya Dâmi
4. [liya] . . . . . ya ekka ovaṇako devyadhammunna etto cha punabhâgo puttâna je-
5. . . . . bhâtuputrasya cha Âryyaghoshasya dhutuya cha Saṅghadevanikâya
6. . . . . natukânam nâtunah[2] panatukânam punatinam sumbandhi savvasseva kuḍisya
7. [a]ttânam tthitânam anagatânam[3] cha sârvvasattvânam cha hitasukhatthâya bhavatu tti [|]

—". . . . . a cave and a water cistern for the acceptance of the . . . Bhadrâyaniyas. The merit (*gained*) thereby (*shall belong*) to . . . . . and to (*my*) mother Nandhuṭhikâ. One cell (*is*) the meritorious gift of (*my*) wife (*and*) lady Dâmilâ. A share of the merit (*gained*) thereby (*shall belong*) to (*my*) sons Je . . . . ., to (*my*) nephew Âryaghosha, and to (*my*) daughter Saṅghadevanikâ . . . to (*my*) grandsons, grand-daughters, great-grandsons, great-grand-daughters, and daughters-in-law, and to (*my*) whole race, the deceased, the living, and the unborn; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all living beings."

I am unable to make out the whole of the postscript, which narrates how a perpetual endowment of 1600 *kârshâpaṇas* was given, and contains details into whose hands it was placed, and for whose benefit the interest was to be expended. The portion transcribed is interesting on account of its language, which presents a most remarkable mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit forms, and for the occurrence of the name of the Bhadrâyaniya school, which is frequently mentioned in the Nâsik inscriptions. The alphabet shows the Andhra type, with an admixture of younger forms, *e.g.*, in *ṇa* and *śa*.

No. 28 (West's No. 39), on the right-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXVI.—

1. Sidha[ṁ] upâsakasa Dhenukâkaṭ[i]yasa [Kulapiyasa]
2. [Dha]maṇakasa dh[u]tuya pavaṭik[â]ya Si[pâya the]
3. r[â]ya bhaṇata-Bodhikâya âtevâsini[ya]
4. lena devadhamma p[â]niyapodhi cha saha bhagi[niya]
5. Ratinikâya saha chu savena ñâtisabadhi[vage]
6. na ch[â]turâs[e] Bhikhusagh[e] athaṁ puris[esu]
7. lesu (?) patiṭhâpita mâtupitaru udisa sava[satâna]
8. hitasughatha[ṁ] bhikhusaghasa akhayanivi cha dinâ eto cha [bhikhu]
9. sagh[â]na chivariha dâtava solasaka utukile cha . . .

—"Success! By the female ascetic Sâpâ (Saṇpâ), the daughter of the lay-worshipper and inhabitant of Dhenukâkaṭa, Kulapiya (Kulapriya) Dhamanaka (Dharma), (*and*) the pupil of the Thera, the reverend Bodhika (*she being associated*) with her sister Ratinikâ and with the whole number of her relations and connections, a cave and a water-cistern have been excavated (*as*) a meritorious gift, for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (*viz.*) for eight persons (?) . . .—for the benefit of her parents and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has

[1] L. 2. Read *etta*.
[2] L. 6. Read *nattuna*.
[3] L. 7. Read *atîtânâgatâna*.

been given to the community of ascetics; and out of (*the interest of*) that (*a piece of*) sixteen shall be given to the community of ascetics for clothes, and in the season. . . ."

Dhenukâkaṭa is doubtless the same place which is frequently mentioned in the Kârle inscriptions and elsewhere. It is most probably different from Dhanakaṭaka or Dhañakaṭaka, the Andhra capital, in the south-east. Etymologically the name means "the residence of Dhenukâ," and the word looks like a synonym of Dhenukâśrama, or Dhenukâ, which is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. The alphabet shows the Andhra type of the times of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakamni II.

No. 29 (West's No. 40), on the right-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXVII.—

1. . . sa . . . . . ipula . . . . . sava . . ma
2. . . sa dasamiya ekâ[ya] puvâya mahâri[ja]bhikâya ma[hâbhoja]ya
3. bi[hikâ]ya mahârathiniya *Khamdanâgasâtaka*-mâtuya mahâ[bho]jasa [Ahi]-
4. [jasa](?) cha Dhena-sensa(?) bhaginiya Nâgamulâni[kâ]ya lena deyadhama
5. . . . . bhikusaghe patitthâpita(m) mâ[tup]i[ta]ṇa [udi]sa kâ . . ena a . . .

—". . . . . on the tenth (*lunar day*). On the above (*date*) Nâgamulanikâ (Nâgamûla), daughter of the great king and daughter of the Mahâbhoji, wife of the Mahârathi, mother of Khamdanâgasâtaka (Skandanâgasâtaka), and sister of the Mahâbhoja Ahija (?) Dhenasena (Dhanasena?) excavated a cave (*as*) a meritorious gift for the community of the ascetics . . . for the benefit of her parents . . . . ."

Letters, Andhra. Both *ta* and *na* have a loop, and are for that reason not to be distinguished; *ṇa* has the later form, which occurs also on the Jagayyapeṭṭâ inscriptions. As, however, an *i*, a *pu*, and a *la*, or rather traces of these letters, are faintly visible in the first line before the first break, it is not impossible that the inscription was dated according to the regnal years of Siri-Pulumâyi.

No. 30 (West's No. 53), on a detached rock between Caves No. XIV. and XV.—

Kaliya[ṇa]to
Nadasa kama-
rasa patho de-
yadhama [‖]

—"Success! A path, the meritorious gift of Nanda (*Nada*), a blacksmith from Kalyâṇa."

This inscription seems to be one of the oldest found at *Kanheri*, for the letter *da* has the old form and opens towards the left.

Postscript.—The word *Ânadamâtu*—Kanheri No. 44, West (Burgess, No. 15), l. 5—affords a certain instance in which the genitive *mâtu* is used in the sense of the instrumental. It is, therefore, not necessary to change, as proposed above, *Vedisirimâtu* (Nânâghât I. p. 61) to *Vedisirimâtuya*. As regards the word *bhâriyâ* (*Ibidem*), which evidently has the sense of *bhâriyâya*, it may also be a vicarious form for the latter instead of a misspelling, for the Kanheri and other old Prakrit inscriptions repeatedly show *a* instead of *ya* as the termination of the third case. It is, therefore, imaginable that this *a* may have coalesced with

the preceding long vowel, and that thus *bhâriyâ* (loc. cit.) may be really intended for an instrumental case.

No. 31.—

On the architrave of Cave X.—the Darbar Cave[1]—is an inscription in eight lines from 11 to 11½ feet long, with two additional ones of 5½ feet long, but very indistinctly engraved. The opening sentences have been translated by Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji.[2] It is dated in the Śaka Samvat 775 in the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amoghavarsha Jagattuṅga, and of his feudatory Kapardi, the Śilâhâra, chief of the Konkan.

No. 32.—

On the architrave of the small cave No. LXXVIII., just opposite to the Darbar Cave, is a similar inscription (West's No. 43) dated in Śaka 799 during the reign of the same two kings.

In Cave LXVI. are three Pahlavi inscriptions, one on the left side of the recess of the water cistern in the right side of the court, and consists of thirteen lines; the other two are on the pilasters of the verandah, and are also written vertically. Dr. E. W. West also discovered two fragments of similar inscriptions at the structural stûpa or dâgaba which he examined.[3] These inscriptions have been translated by Dr. West,[4] and consist of lists of names, two companies of Pârsis who visited the place: the first having engraved two of the inscriptions on 10th October and 24th November 1009 A.D., and the second perhaps also two—the one dated 30th October 1021 A.D. The fifth fragment is too small and indistinct to yield any information.

The copperplate inscription found by Dr. Bird at Kanheri has also been published elsewhere.[5]

III. Daśa Avatâra Inscription at Elurâ.

On the west side of the mandapa in front of the Daśa Avatâra cave temple at Elurâ is a long inscription in fourteen lines in Dêvanâgarî characters, of the forms used in the first half of the eighth century; but they are faintly cut and much chipped, few of the letters being uninjured, and long portions of many of the lines quite illegible. Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji studied it carefully on the spot, and made a transcript of all the letters he could make out, of which the following is a transliteration. It is in Sanskrit verse, and contains 29¾ ślokas in different metres.

Transcript.

(1.) Om namaḥ | Śivâya | Ardhâkrishṭe gauṣh(ṭhe dhâmnâ śi-mayâ jânubhyâm kum-ram vâmârddhenâpanetum
jhaṭiti vighaṭite sâdhibandhoṛi mushṭau yâtaḥ pâyâ . . . . . śaṅkâ[ḍhaṭi pure?] . . . . . .
(1) . . . . . .

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, p. 353. This inscription is Dr. West's No. 15.

[2] *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiii, p. 11; and *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 61.

[3] *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 11b ff.

[4] Published in the separate memoranda of the Archæological Survey of Western India, No. X.—*Cave Temple Inscriptions*, pp. 62–66; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, pp. 265–268.

[5] *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, pp. 57–60.

(2) hâsamtushtâ prâktânyâ setyetyuktvarati haram rahasi vah priyâmagaudrâtmajâ (2) [sva]bhakteh[a]m yatna . . . . . pi ullâsakam pareta jâpyamâlâ karatyakam prakrishtamâkrishta . . . . . pravohmukhâ jyullâsakarah (3) sthirâtmakah [sa]gaura . . . . . ka . . . sya . . . ullâ sajam . . . . . (4) . . . . . .

(3.) ye kirttish kshitikhyâh kavibhih parikâh tânera samsmarati vetyallâsâpi lokastasyâvyavasya karisha tmoti kirtim (5) samagi jagatitalâvikalapâlasakochitam pra[kâsachatu]râpavipramathanâjjitah sripatim va vetti khalu kah kshitâ prakatâshtakûtâvyayam (6) . . . . . tapatha . . . . . dilhâryavantah karttârah prârthitârthah pranayijana . . . . . .

(4.) pra[thita]prithuchamûrikramâjitajâm bhaktârah kaunjarinâm samadakatatatasligharinâm girtânâm (7) tasmin dugdhâmbu[râshi]dyu[ti]dhavalayasascandrikodbhâsitâso yoshichakasya . . . . . rayadbhanmattamâtangagâmi sûnâ vanyâsramâjâm prasavilasakalavyâpadânamdâ[nâ] . . . bhâsya . . . . . tapasâm vidvishâm Dantivarmmâ (8) sudustyaji yena satâpi bhûbhritâ sa . . . . . tia rivekâmischarya

(5.) masajjanâya yah dayâluâ sajjanavrittasâlinâ (9) âlokhyâpitamûrttayah svabhavaneshvadyâpi yasya âvishah pasyantah kimu yuddhamuddhatarushâschitrastha[mâna]mtanoh taunâmasmaragâgata . . . . . mitrânyopi nashtasriyah ? prekshyante pathikaih sucheva vimilhâsenaiva nimûlitâh (10) tasyâtmaja . . . . . ilevarija . . . . . kamalah kamalâyatâkshah lakshmâri-pakshavanitâ nayanânandavântatoyânvitakshitimarakshayadindrarâjah (11) yaminakshoni

(6.) makhamdâm kritabhayasmatâm rakshati kshmyanushte sampanna siddhasishtah pravarakritaya[ga?] kshmâpatinyâyayuktyâ yajnat . . . . . [bhakti]h . . . . vibuddhinifte . . . . . haschinnâbhûtasokam kalikalushamatimnava nâpyatpravittah (12) rikâsi yasya kshmadâsyavikshatam sashkoditâmavyapak[saki]tâ karo[ti] sampatyapi nirmmalam jagatpasannadigmandalamandanam yasah (13) dhari vârodhimchakarah prithutvaikatikah kshmâbhriduunmûlanena khyâtah sankhâkapâm

(7.) ibhalivijayamahârikamâvâptalakshmih kshonibhârivatâri vikramamahipatestasya sûnuripobhût mânyo Govindarâjo harinva harinâkshijanapârthaniyah ‖ (14) yasyâmalah[h] prapatabhupatirachchhalasya? râmâbhirâmacharitasya sahasrasamkhyah âmandabhirgunavatas[h]pasrit irdhigânti nirvâpitam ja[ga]tkarâtairiva sitarasmih (15) tasmâ . . . . . jnumâ nipujanatmarakshanechchhânâm . . . . . meshah punyaih prajânâm sugatasvamkripah kalpatarikshâmkârî bhûtâpannarttihâri

(8.) kalikalushajushâ . . . . . mukâri râjasi Kalikarâjah khara . . . ra[khurik hepa?]nikeshitârih (16) vasyârâdhasya naktam niyatanipajanâsthânadânâyakântam ramyam haranyasya pushtam paravartaram sreni-nirghâsanâkam vâmastrihârâtâralyntiralamahimatarochisshkhâbhih kâmam dhvasteudhakâre na sitakarakarai . . . . . yah (17) dahpâpravânchhitamanorthasamridhâna nânâsiddhibuddhasâthamanobhûtâpah yah kalpapâdapamapindsitorukirtti

(9.) nânâdikhirgunavatavadhavichakâna ‖ (18) tasyâbhûdbhimvanapatakâmanahimâ bhagavân hiranyah kshipteh kshindrarajah prajâparikhararyâpattivichchhittikarî mahyadhikarikumdhabhittivilasatkîttipratâyatanah . . . . . dvijirajijnajjatajayah sûrindrajah sutah ‖ (19) yo machchharyamânâyakâryamukhah prochchhâryadharyodadhih dhritvâ sajjanarittamesha sakritah . . dhirogahit yasyâdyâpi gunah sashkasuchibhirdhânâparam tatsamam bhûmyadbhanna bhavekshit

(10.) nasadam hamsachchhalenâpyate ‖ (20) varnâsramânâsesham tmayastasya svavarttanasyasitam sri Dantidurggarâjassakalamahipâlamitbobhût (21) yasya hareriva charitam nâtikrântairma bhûribhih kaischit sâmyamanukarttumanalam narapatibhirnnâpi sâmpratakaih (22) dandenaiva jigiya Vallabhabalam yah Sandhibhûpâdhipam Kâñchîsam sa Kalinga-Kosalapat Srisâhasesvaram seshaMallaLâta[Tanka muri-patinanyânscha nitvâ vasâni yah SriVallabha

(11.) tamavâpi charanam nyasya dirshnu mastaka ‖ (23) saurvoritya[syashta yah prathamakam tejasâ mârutim tyâgenâsamadâtmajam tanumaranidrogam gunair priyâmiva rûpenâpratimena manmathamatha sthemnâ savarnyâchalam Râmayam sasânkamanivadvyavasah Suhlikrito [yam] pathih (24) dharah . . . . . ravatapurikam bhimasenânujâtam prithvâbhûpendravrinduh parivritamakhayâmgneseno jiffirih vyâpâryadbhirattimokam prasabhajanakarâdhvamsasamskâradakshe Bhîmachchhurdushtamâgo

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[1] Read *tasmâda*.
[2] Read *sriyah*.
[3] Read *'tanhoya*.
[4] Read *'mâlâ-vega*.
[5] Read *'pandsitaga*.
[6] Read *bibhatsa*.

(12.) Jayasamśrayaḥ paramaḥ śrīmahārāja Śarvvaḥ || (25) dattvā yaḥ pañchaśatkāṇḍa nāgarāṇāṃ śatatrayaṃ | pañchāśadvarṣa-saṃchityāpta[dya]śāṭṭahāsa-nirākṛtiḥ | ratnamālā-divākīrtti-nāmnā-[ra]tnāvalī-kṛtiṃ | kṛtvā yaḥ śaṅkarāyāsmai śaṅkarāyatanaṃ śivaṃ | (26) dhanaṃ vaṇa ta[ḍā]ga-pallikā-śikaḥ[ra]-vāsamaṃ-[ṭa]bhir-adhiṣṭhitaḥ | śrīmān-Ellāpure-śaila-[tva]yogyaṃ dṛṣṭvā[ś]ayaṃ śilāmayaṃ | rāghavāgha-[pu]rige-[ś]ayi-dhiṣṭhitaṃ yaḥ [illegible] tsvayaṃ-dvīpādhipatyaṃ pra[pa]nna[vāṃ]

(13.) mādavarāja-vijayasiṃha-pitāḥ prakāśayasaṃ[ś] ca[ś]ima-[dha]ya[ḥ] vadhū | (27) yasmāddahi[ha]ṃ dviṣṇṇataḥ saṃbad upa[hi]ṣṇu-pṛṣṇuṣṭhā viśeṣa[ś]chitaṃ chattra[ṃ] vittaṃ dhi[ma]bhaṣṭaṃ yatta-devārthoṣṇuṣṭhāḥ bhṛtyā[ś]-adbhe[ga]-gaṇaṃ bha[ya]-vibhaṇaṃ[bhi]yaḥ pāṇḍa[ṣṭā]ṇḍa[ṃ] vipāṇḍaṃ dharmmaṃ[ga] vijaḥ sakhaṃ[ma]bhi[ṃ]chāṃ bandhuṃ[ṃ]tāpta[ṃ]ya[ṃ]ś[ca] || (28) yasyā[ṃ]kṣiṃ[dha]vi[ṃ]ramya kaṭakeṃ[ka]ṃya tiraḥkṣaṃ[ṃ] saṃdhya[ṃ]ṃ[dha]ta Gu[ṃ]jaṃ[ma]ṃ[ṃ]ṃ[ṃ]ṃ[ṃ] [illegible] lasta[ṃ]sthe[ha]ṃ saṃtibhi [illegible] tāṃ-gaṇāgaṃ[ma]ṃ[bhi]

(14.) pratī[ma]pāṃ[dha]ṃ[ma]ṃ[ṃ]ṃ[ṃ]ṃ[ṃ

ELURA.-BUDDHIST CAVES.

H.C.

1. TÂRÂ IN CAVE II.

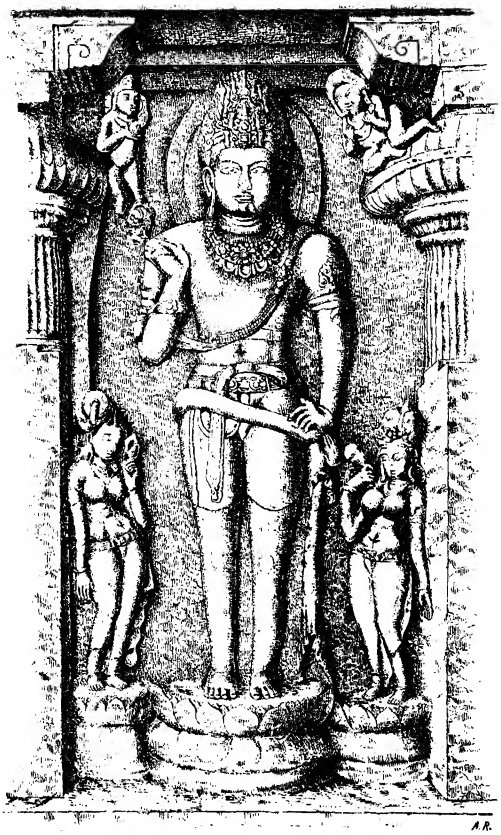
D.M.

2. TÂRÂ IN CAVE VI.

H.C.

3. PILASTER IN CAVE V.

Scale of 12" 1 2 3 4 feet.



A.R.

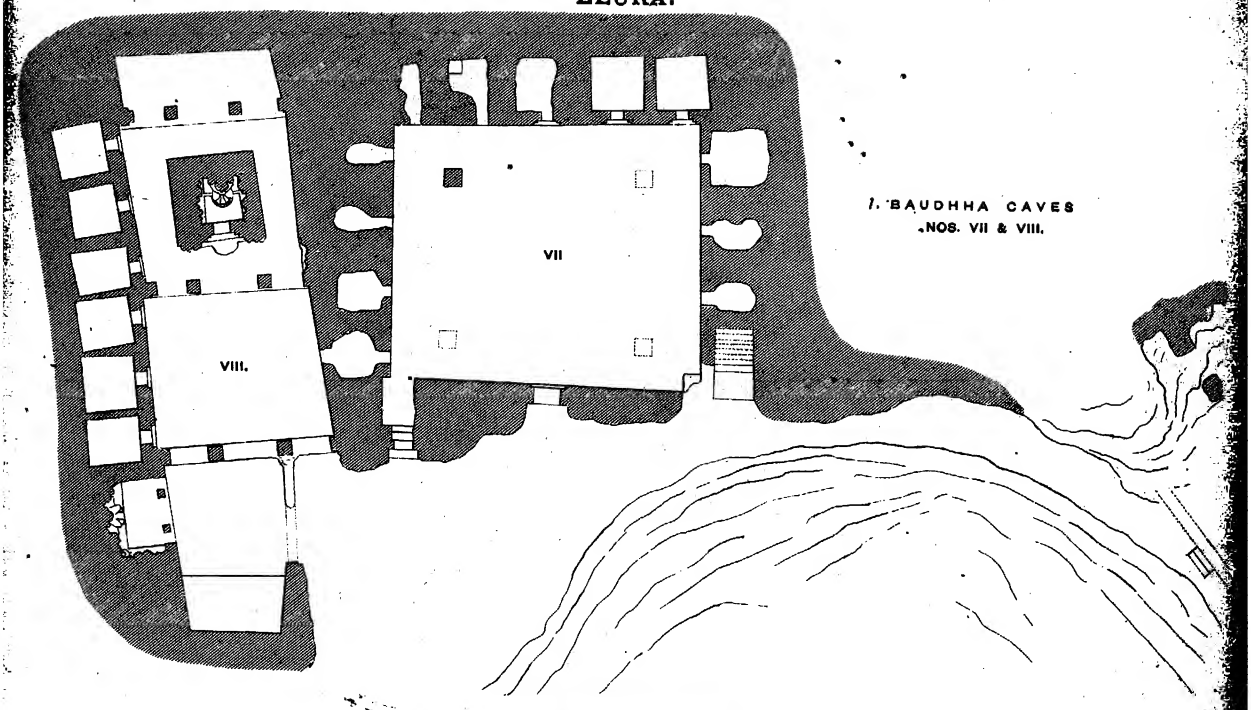
6. BODHISATTVA IN CAVE IX.

4. ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN CAVE VI.

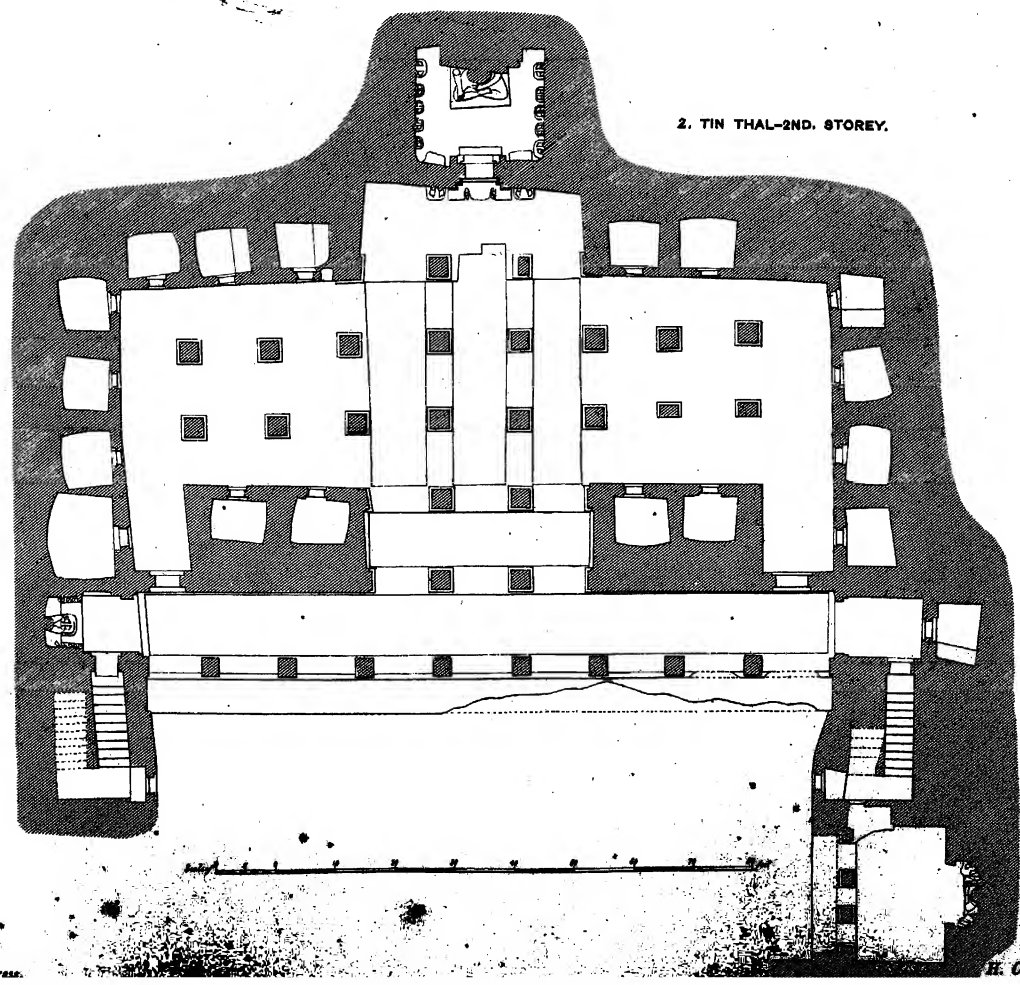
D.M.

5. ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE SHRINE CAVE VI.

ELURA.

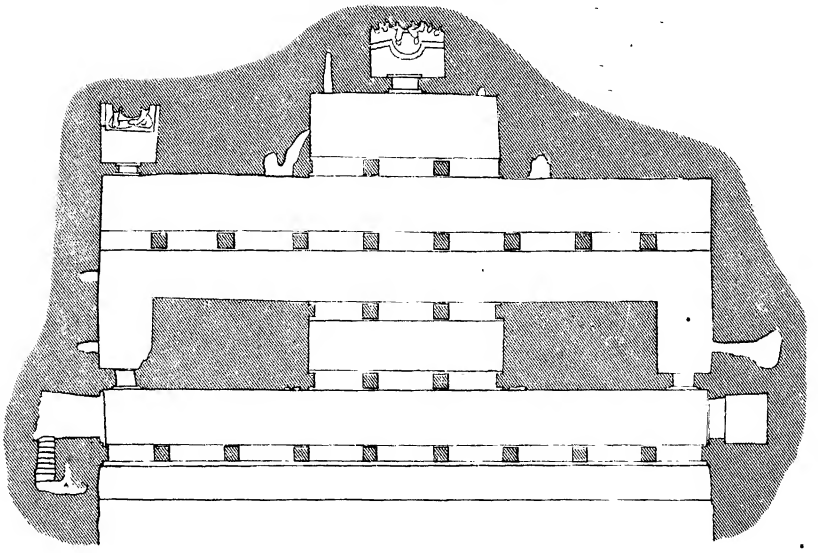


1. BAUDHHA CAVES
NOS. VII & VIII.

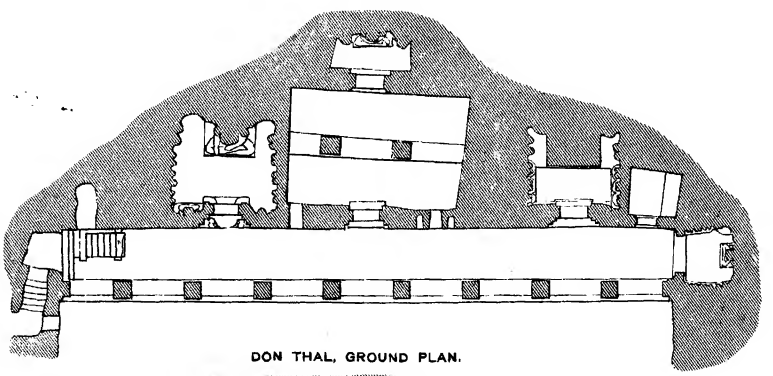


2. TIN THAL–2ND. STOREY.

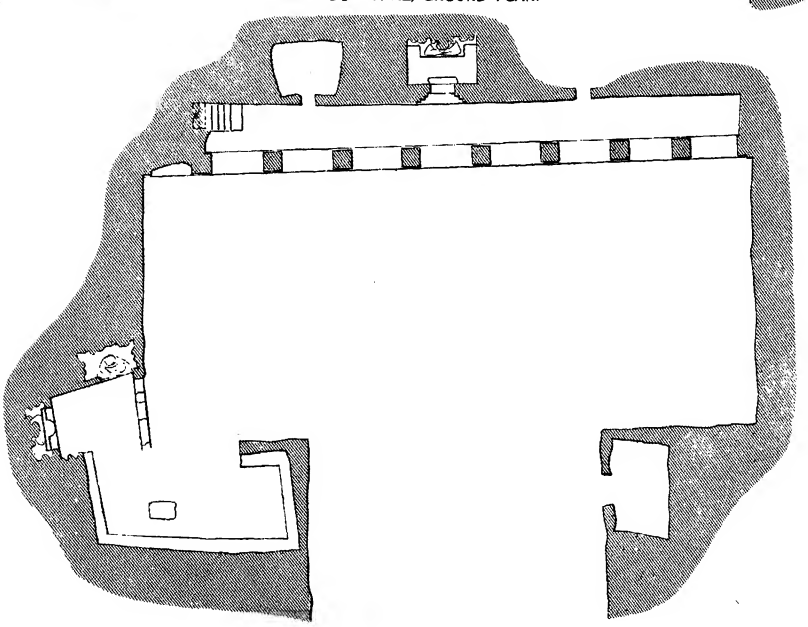
DON THAL SECOND FLOOR.



FIRST FLOOR.



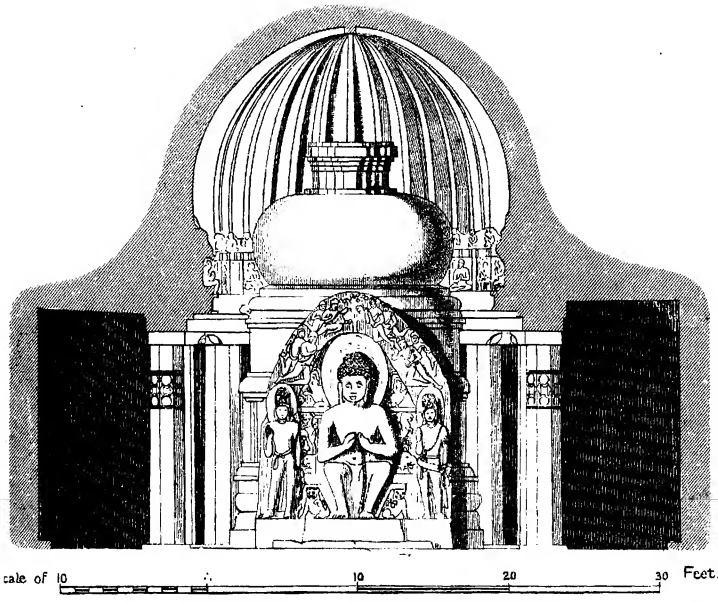
DON THAL, GROUND PLAN.



Scale of 0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 feet

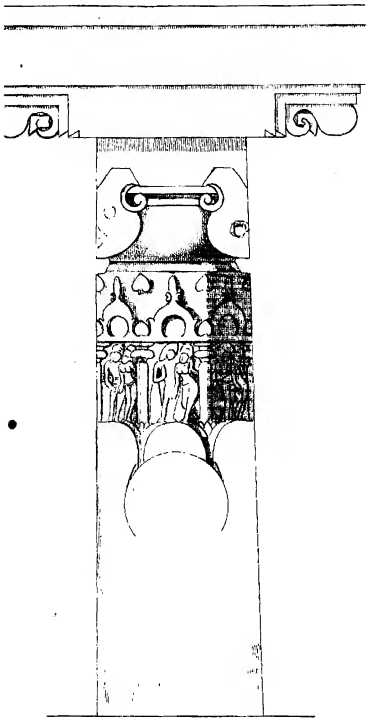
J. Burgess. H. Cousens, del.

ELURA BAUDDHA CAVES.

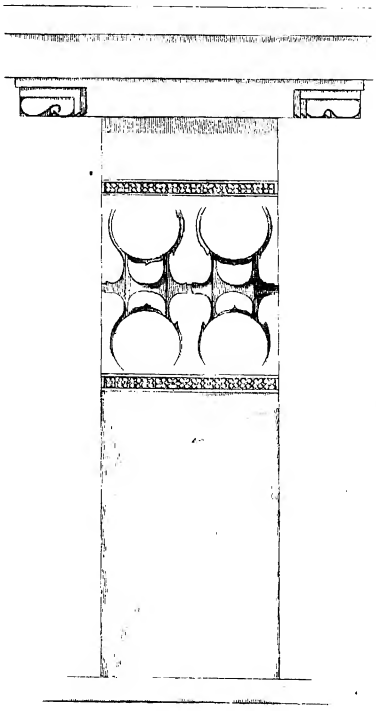


1. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF VISVAKARMA CAVE.

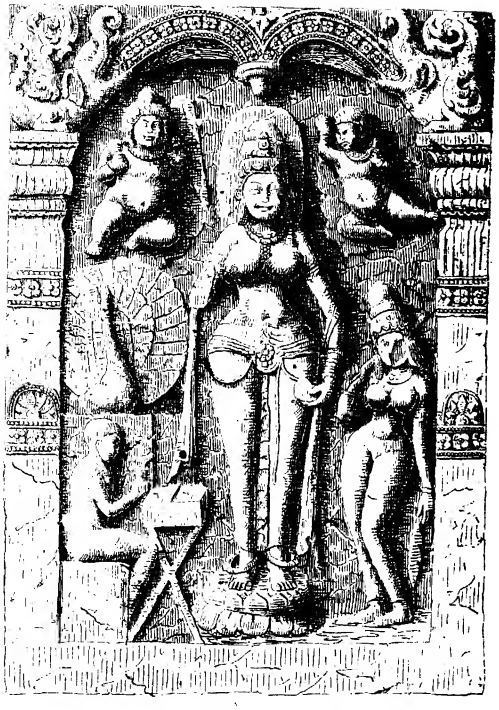
2. PADMAPANI IN CAVE IV.



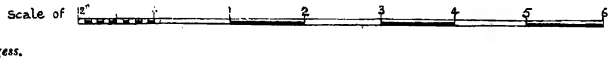
4. PILLAR IN CAVE IX.



5. PILLAR IN UPPER FLOOR OF DON THAL.



3. SARASVATI IN CAVE VI.



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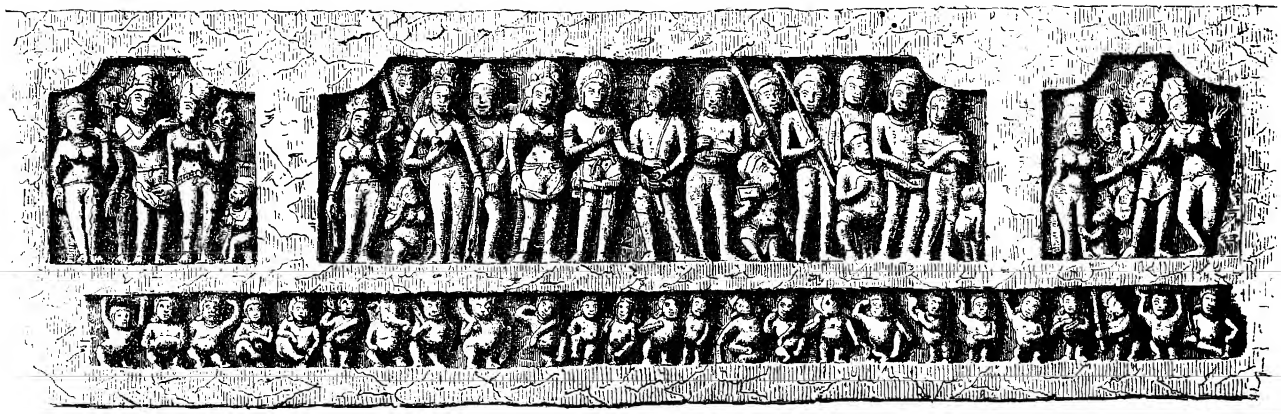
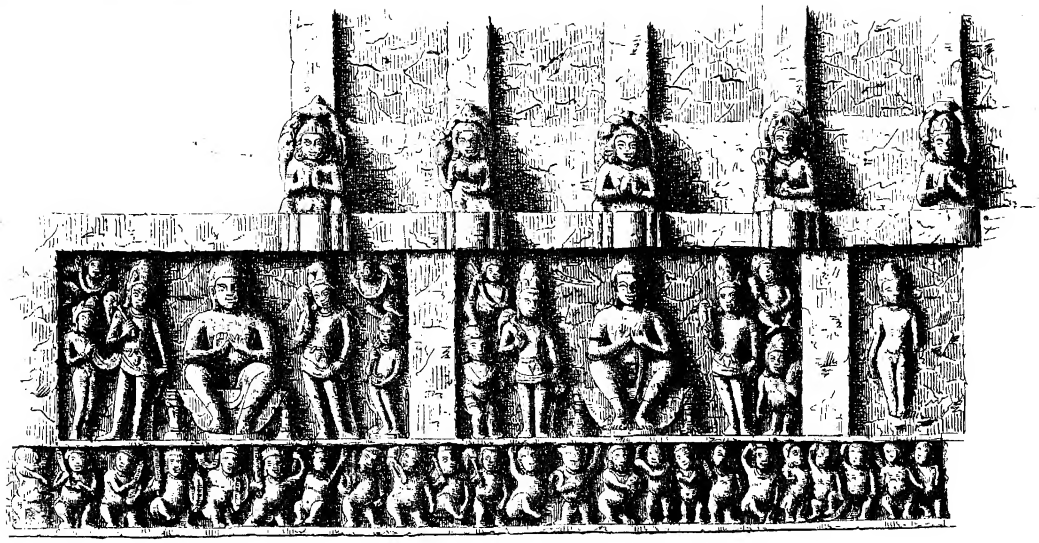
ELURA.

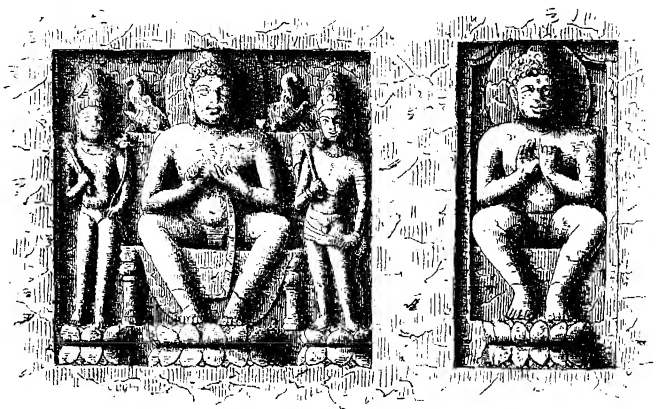
DETAILS FROM VISWAKARMA CAVE.



1. SCULPTURE ON THE INNER SIDE OF THE GALLERY.



2. PART OF THE TRIFORIUM.



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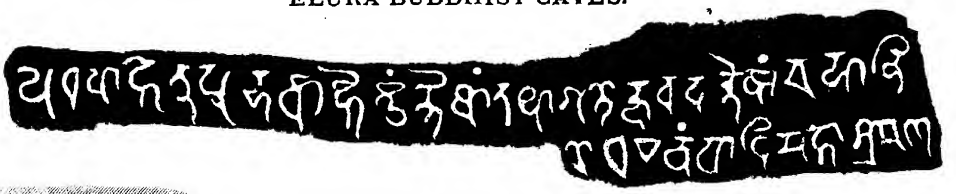
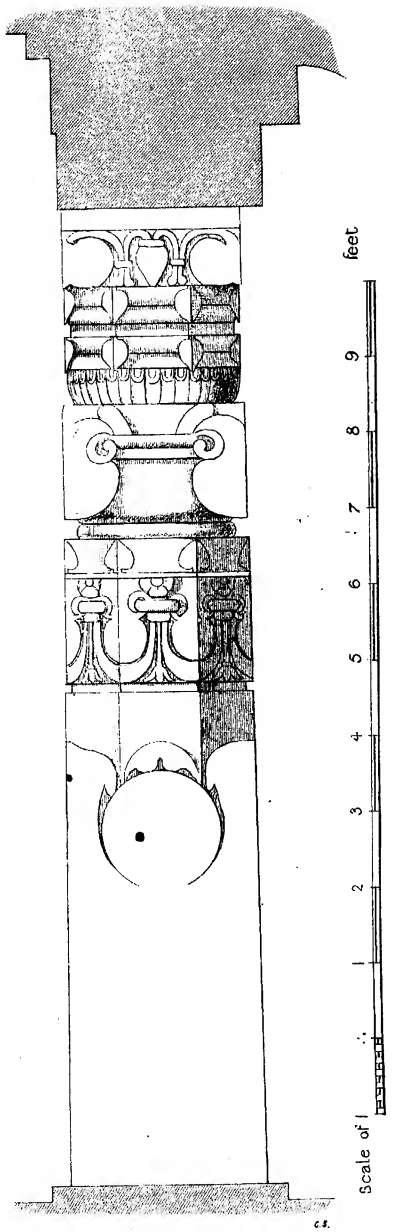
3. SCULPTURES FROM THE DAGOBA.

Scale of 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

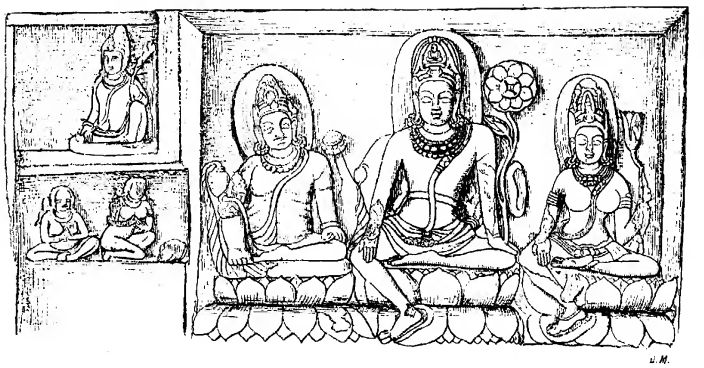


1. INSCRIPTION ON THE VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

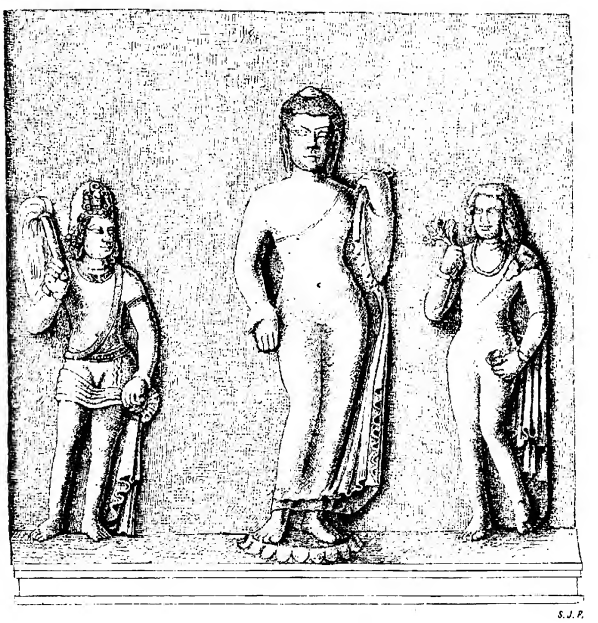


2. PILLAR UNDER THE GALLERY. IN VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

J. Burgess.



3. SCULPTURE IN THE TIN THAL CAVE.



4. BUDDHA AND ATTENDANTS:–BAGH CAVES.

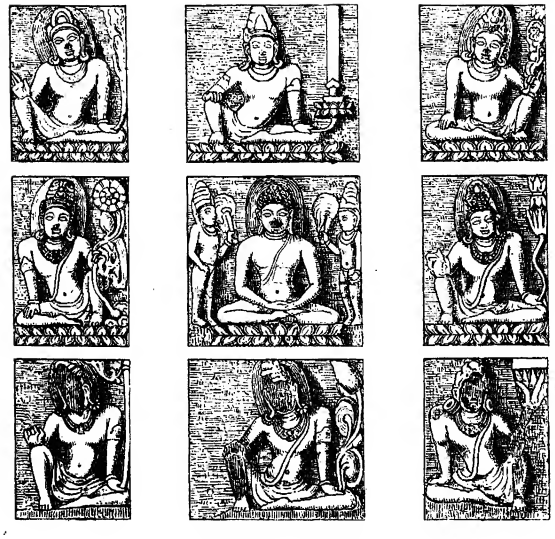
ELURÂ

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FEMALE HEADS
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

5. SCULPTURE TO THE LEFT OF THE SHRINE DOOR IN THE TIN THAL, UPPER STOREY.



6. PANEL IN TIN THAL.

Scale of 12 6 3 1 1 2 3 4 5 feet

Scale to figs 5 & 6.

3. HEAD OF AVALOKITEŚVARA
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

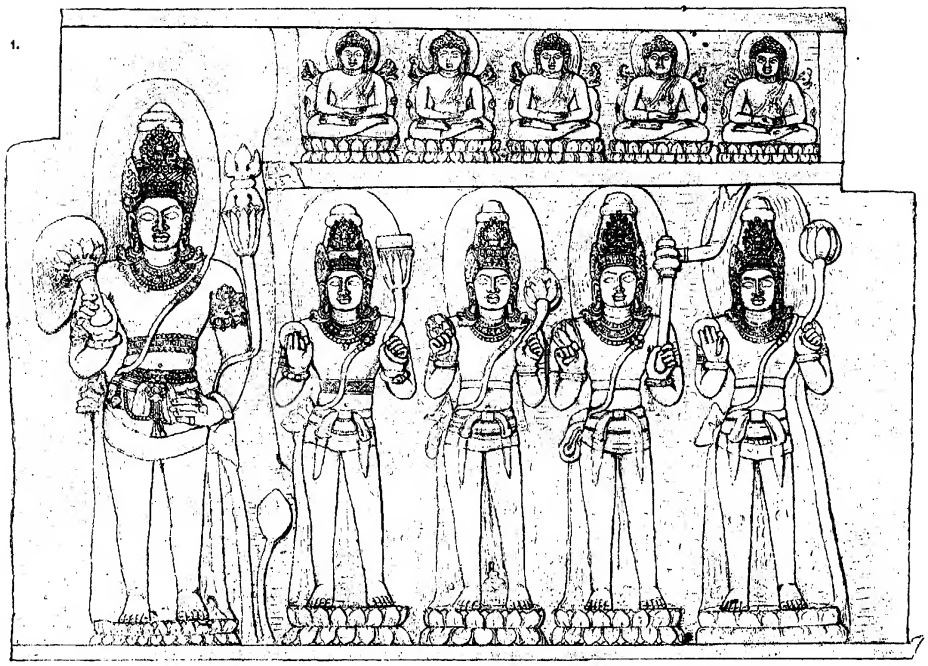
4. VAJRAPANI
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

J. Burgess.

ELURÂ

BODHISATTVAS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN THE TIN THAL.

FIG. 1.



BODHISATTVAS FROM THE BAGH CAVES.

FIG. 2.

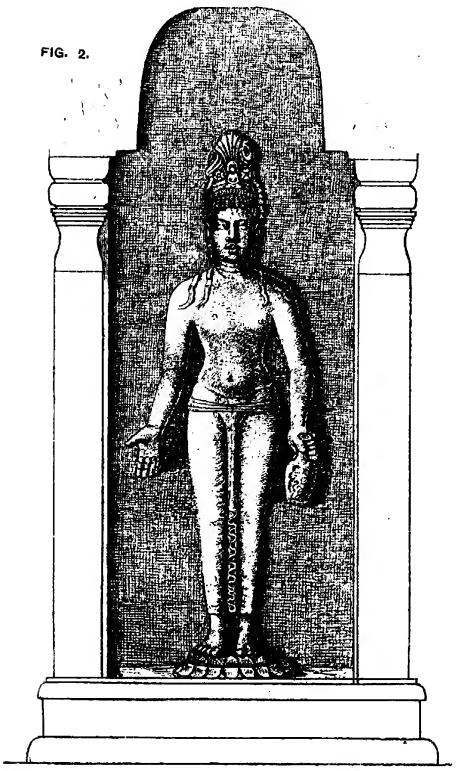
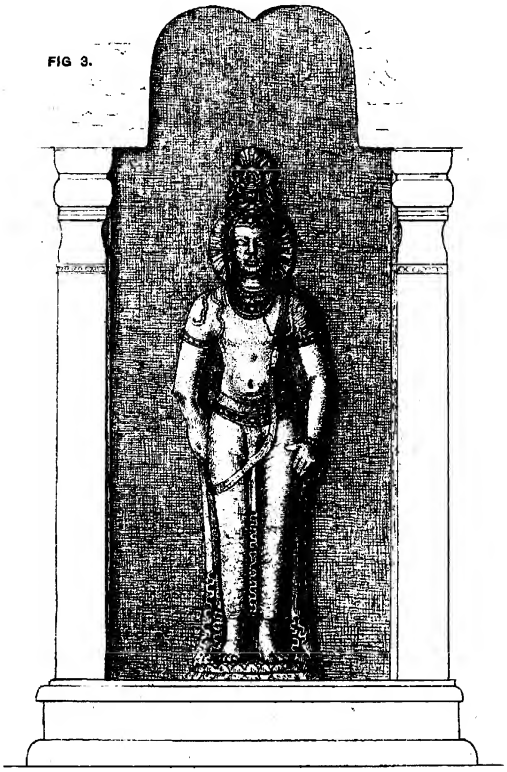


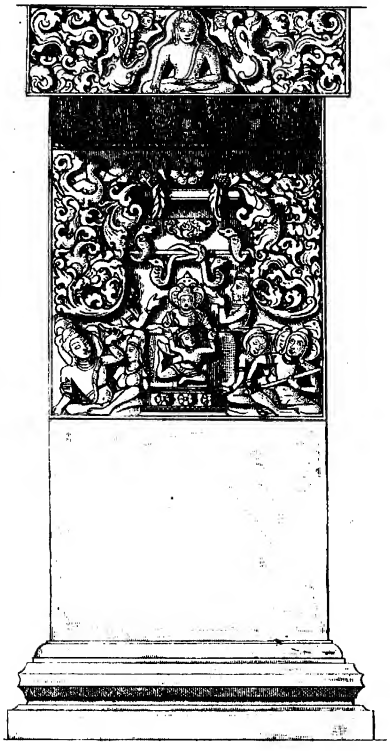
FIG 3.



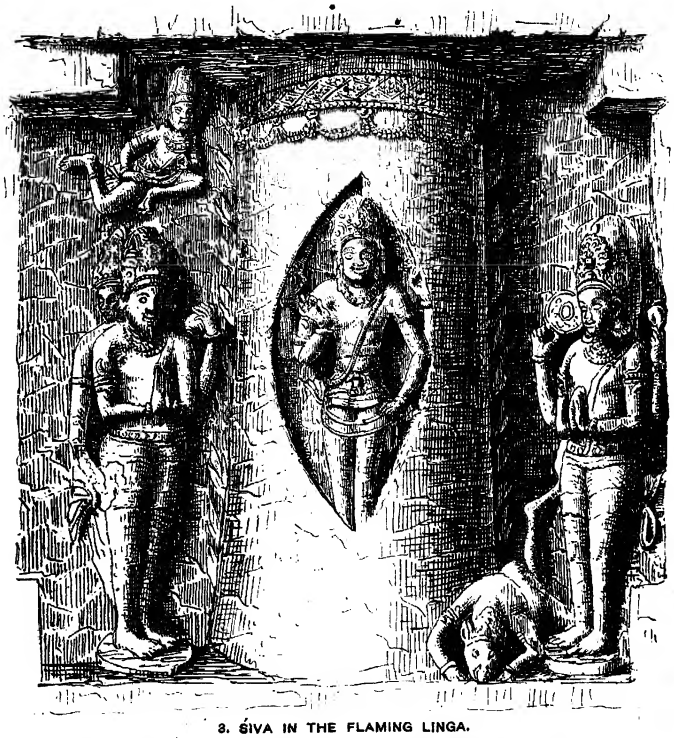
J. Burgess.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



1. PILLAR IN DAS AVATARA.



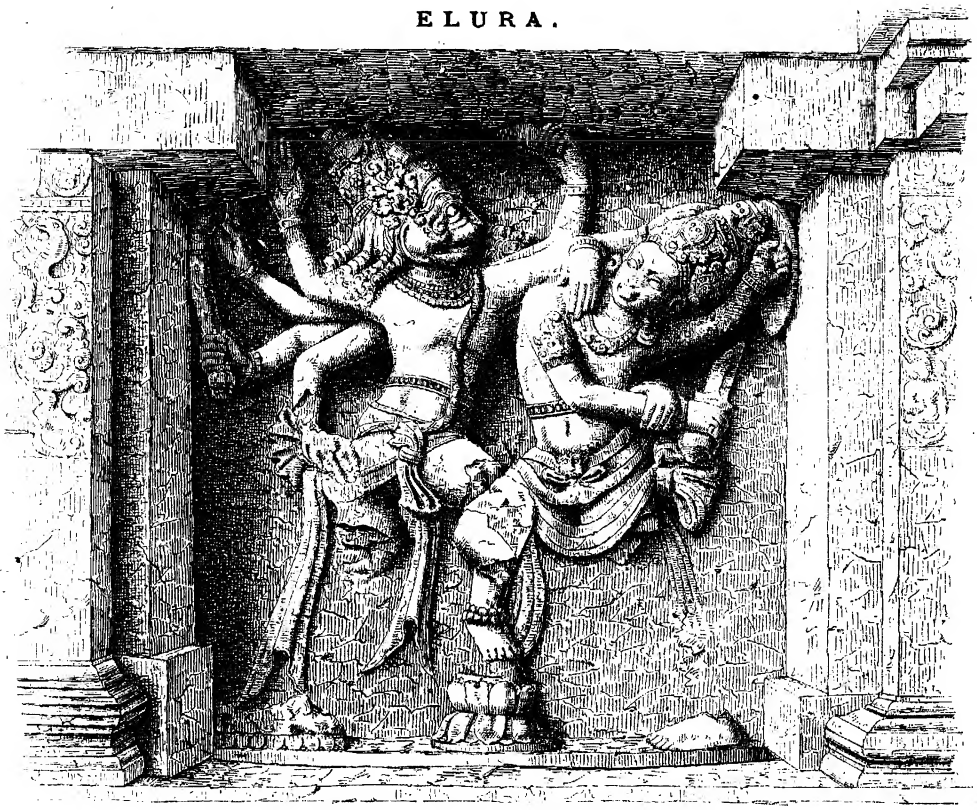
3. ŚIVA IN THE FLAMING LINGA.

2. SHAFT OF PILASTER.

4. ŚIVA DANCING THE TANDAVA IN THE DAS AVATARA.

Scale of 12" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

ELURA.



1. NARASIMHA & HIRANYAKASIPU IN THE DAS AVATARA.

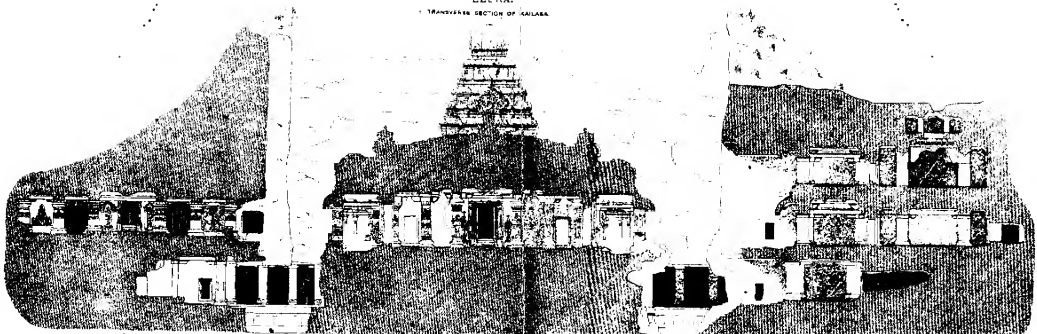
2. BHAIRAVA IN THE DAS AVATARA.

Scale of 12" 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

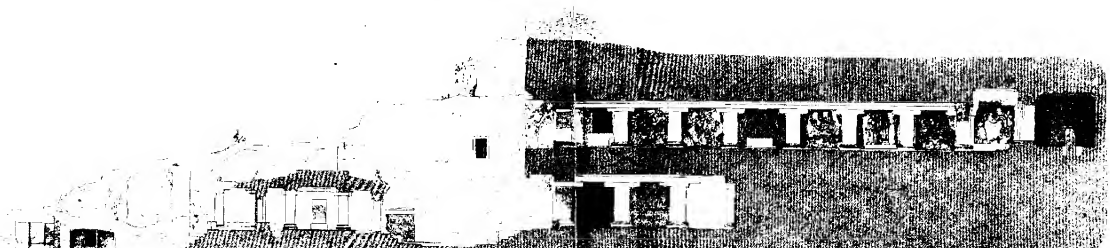
J. Burgess. W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

ELLORA.

1. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF KAILASA.

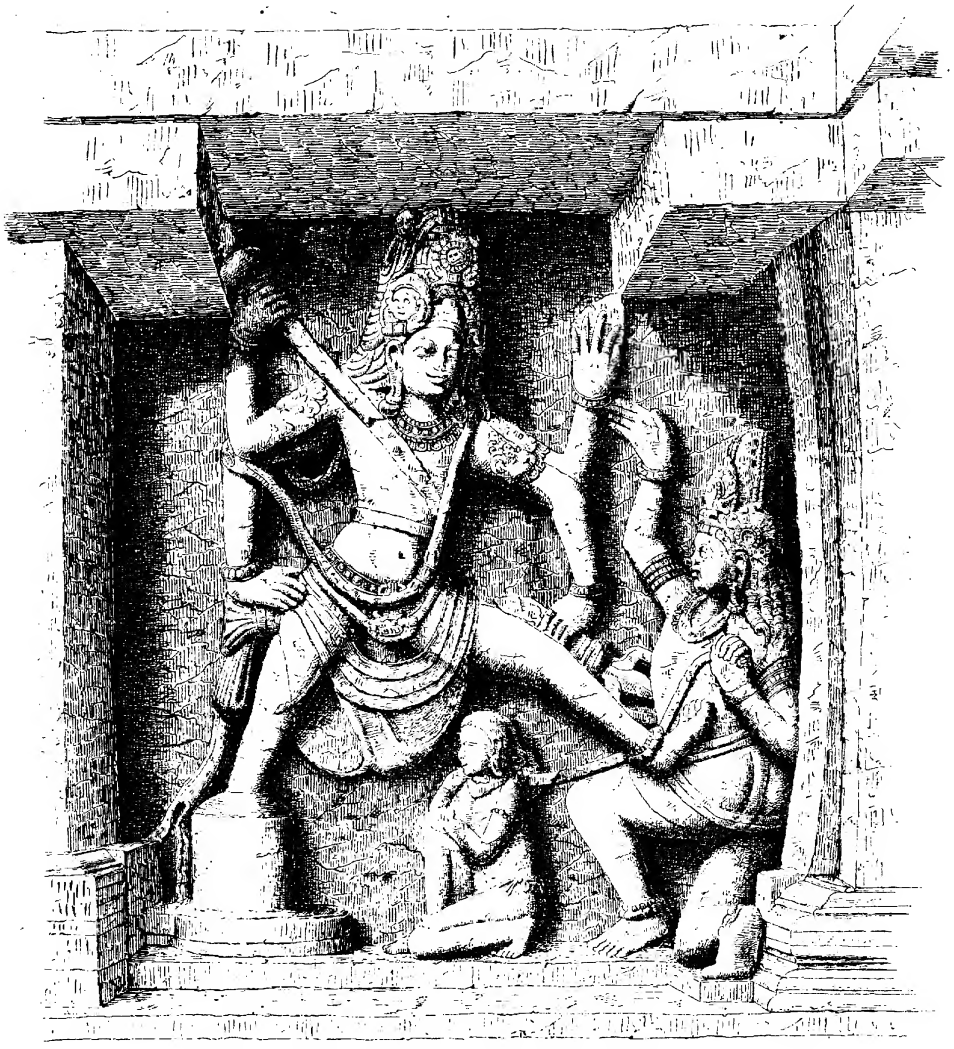


2. SECTION OF THE DAS AVATARA CAVE.



J. Murray.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



1. ŚIVA RESCUING MÂRKANDEYA–FROM THE DAS AVATARA.

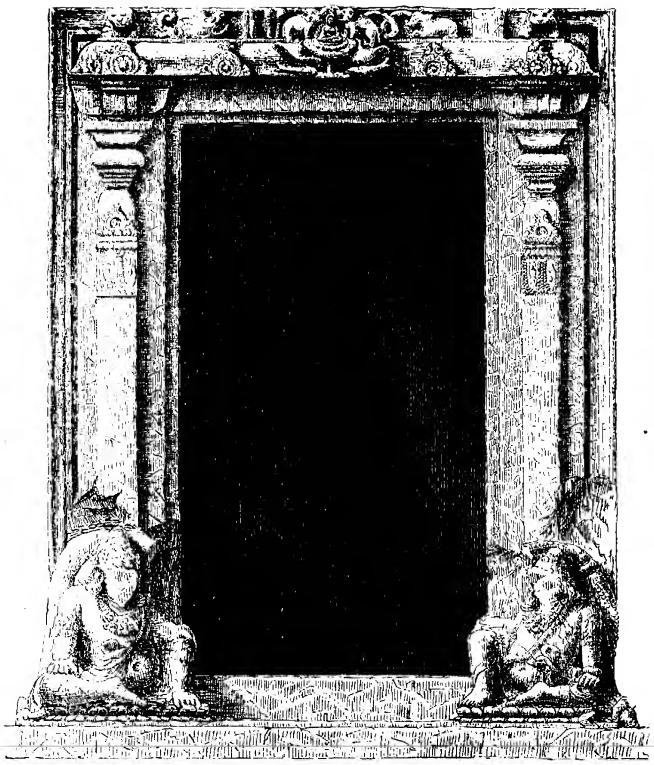
2. ŚIVA RESCUING MÂRKANDEYA–FROM KAILASA.

Scale of 0" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

J. Burgess.

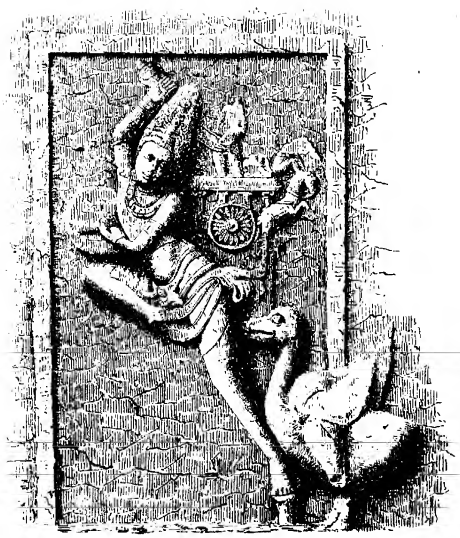
H. Cousens, del.

ELURA CAVE TEMPLES.



1. DOOR IN THE THIRD STOREY IN SOUTH SIDE OF THE COURT IN KAILASA.

2. ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE SOUTH PORCH. IN KAILASA.



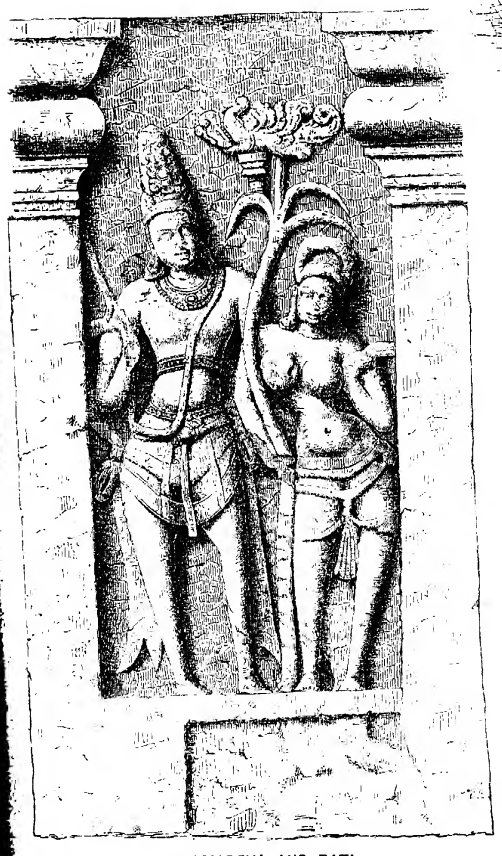
3. ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE SOUTH PORCH. IN KAILASA.

4. IN CAVE XXIV.

5. IN CAVE XXII

ELURA.-KAILASA.

1. SCULPTURE ON THE FRONT OF THE MANDAPA.



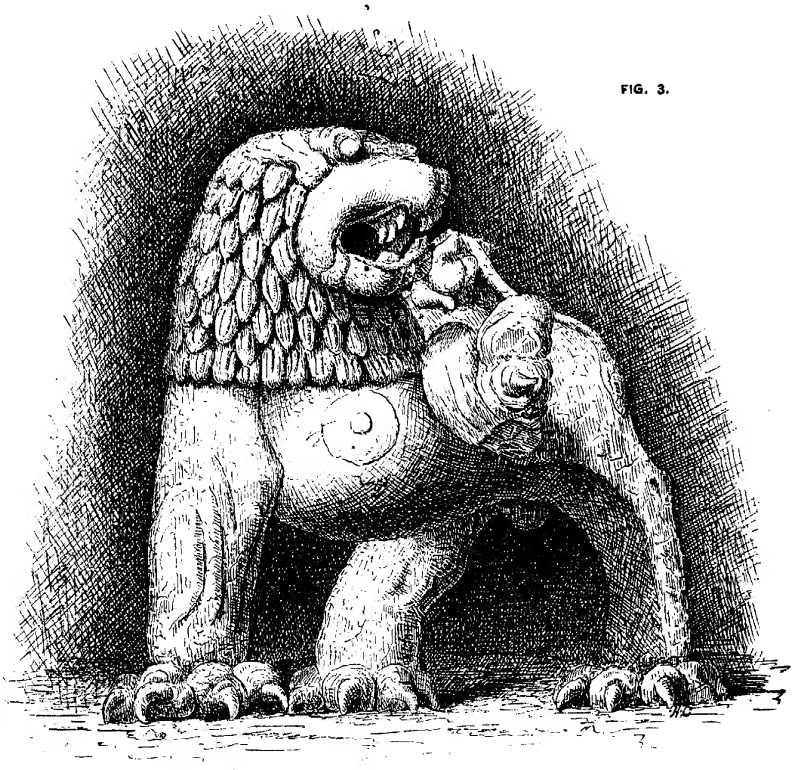
2. KAMADEVA AND RATI.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 feet.

Scale to figs 1 & 2.

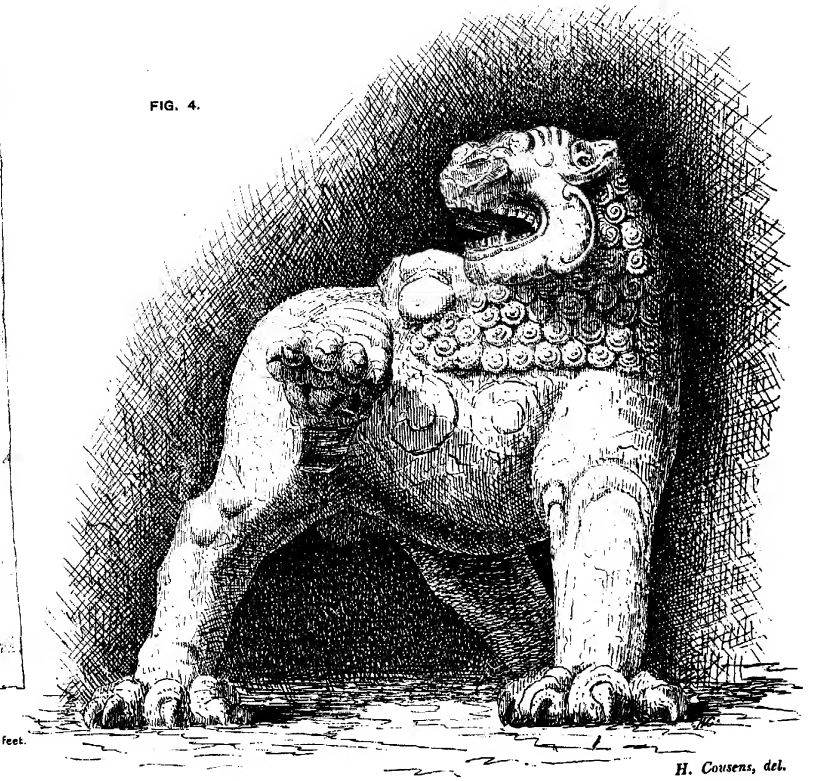
J. Burgess.

FIG. 3.



LIONS ON THE ROOF OF THE MANDAPA.

FIG. 4.



H. Cousens, del.

ELURA.

SCULPTURES FROM THE NORTH CORRIDOR IN THE COURT OF KAILASA.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

ELURA.-KAILASA: COLUMNS.

PLATE XXVII.

FIG 1.

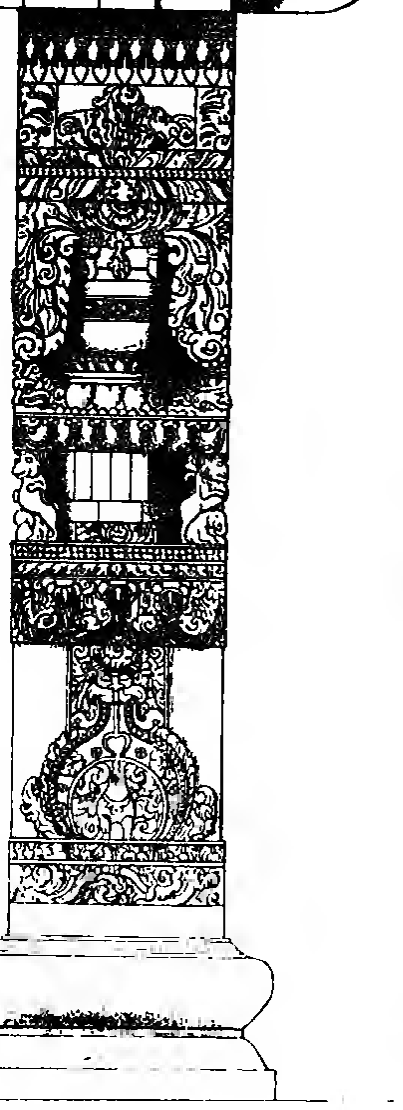


FIG 2

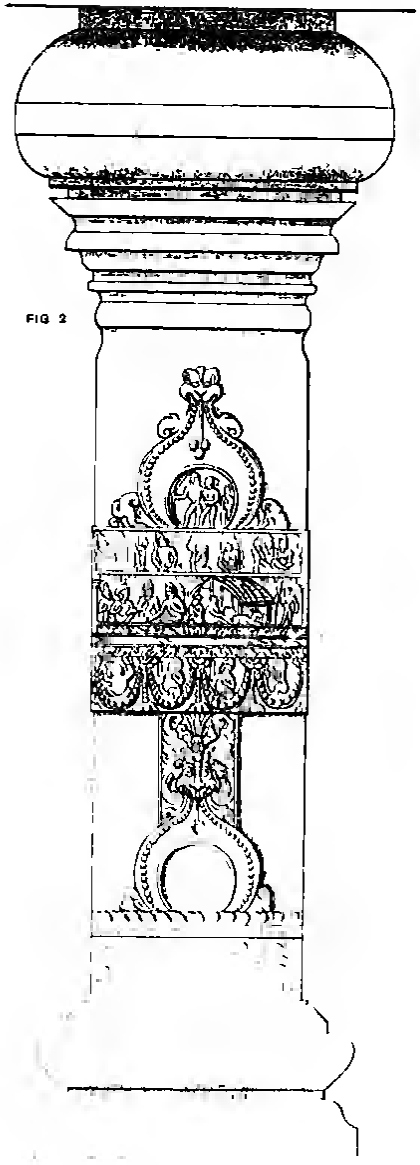
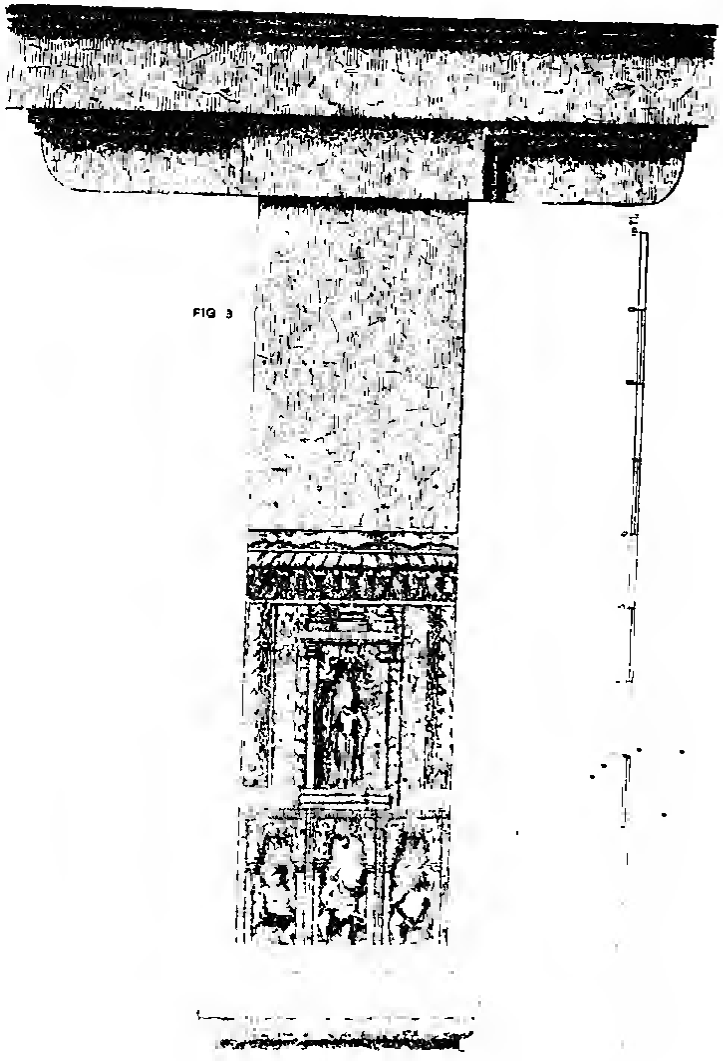
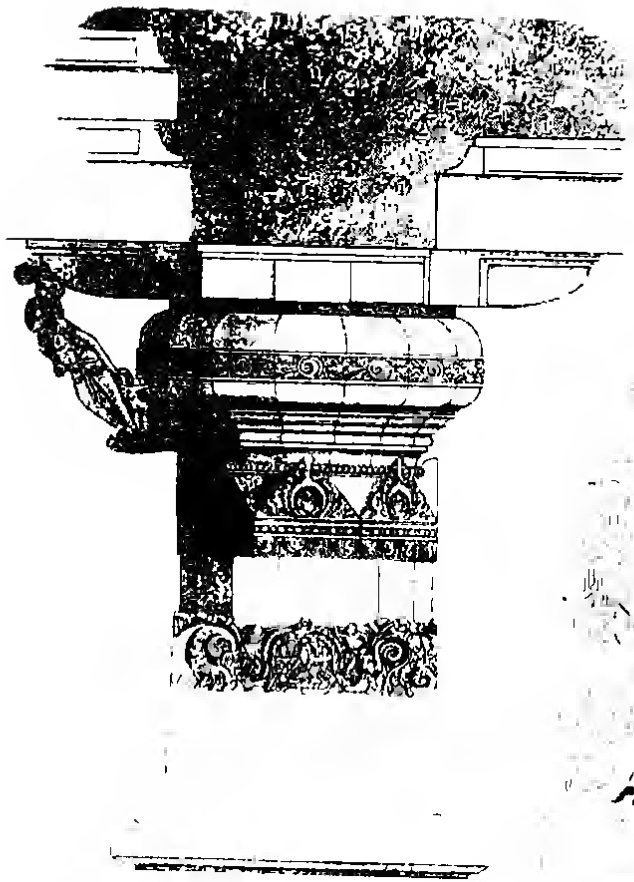


FIG 3



J. Burgess

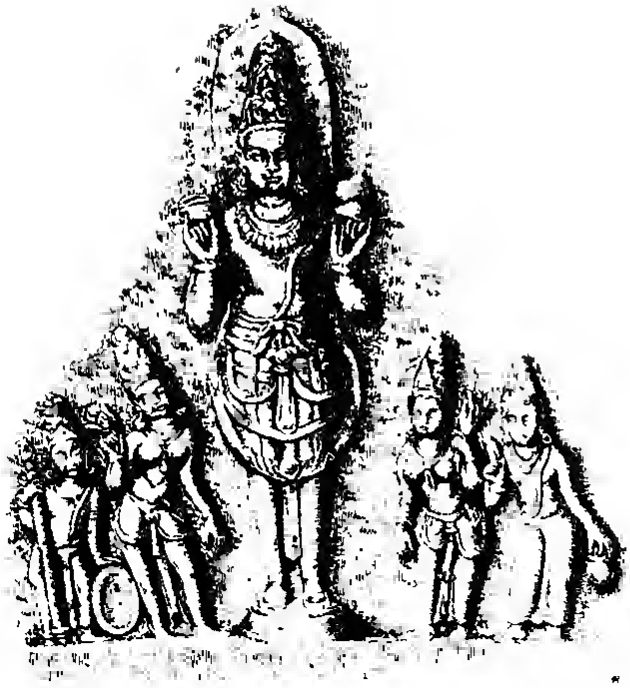
ELURA.-KAILASA.



PILLAR IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF KAILASVARA

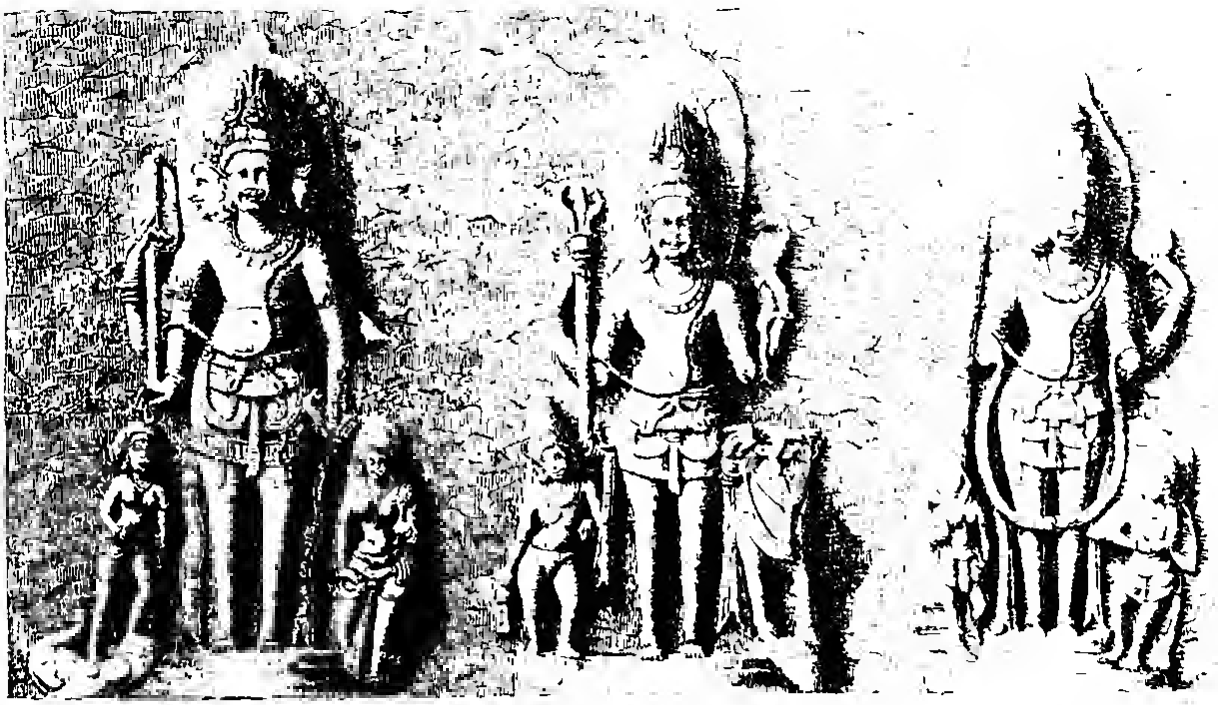
[illegible] IN THE [illegible]

[illegible] OF KAILASVARA



1 SURYA IN LANKEŚVARA

2



3 BRAHMA, SIVA, AND VISHNU IN LANKESVARA

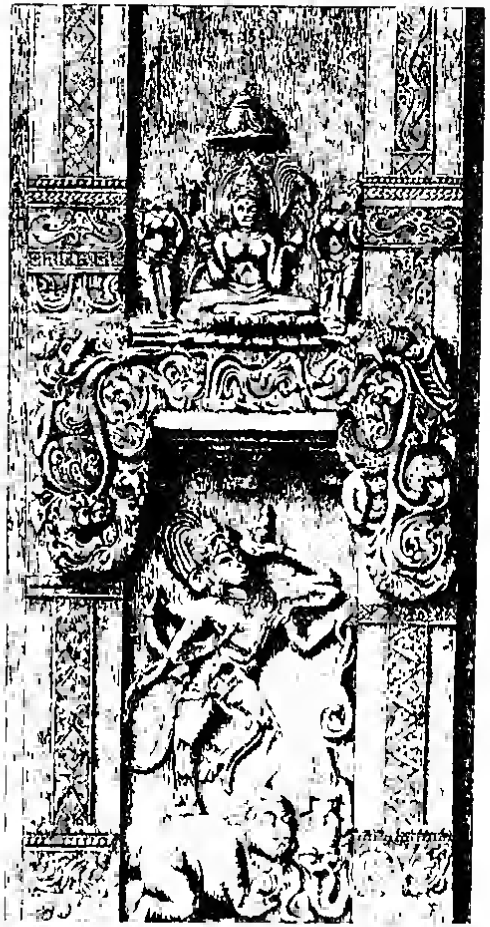
Scale of 12' 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet

J. Burgess,

ELURA:-KAILASA ROCK-TEMPLE.

1. PANEL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN KAILASA

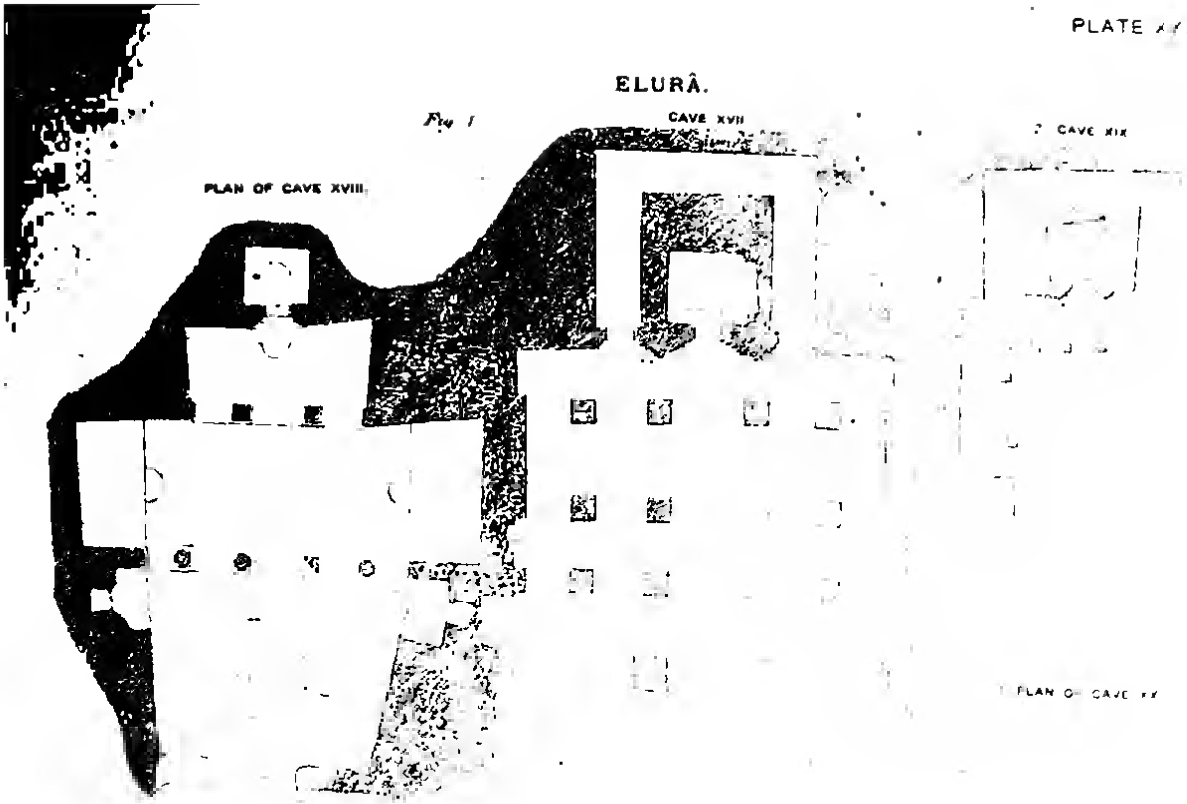
2. ANOTHER PANEL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SHRINE

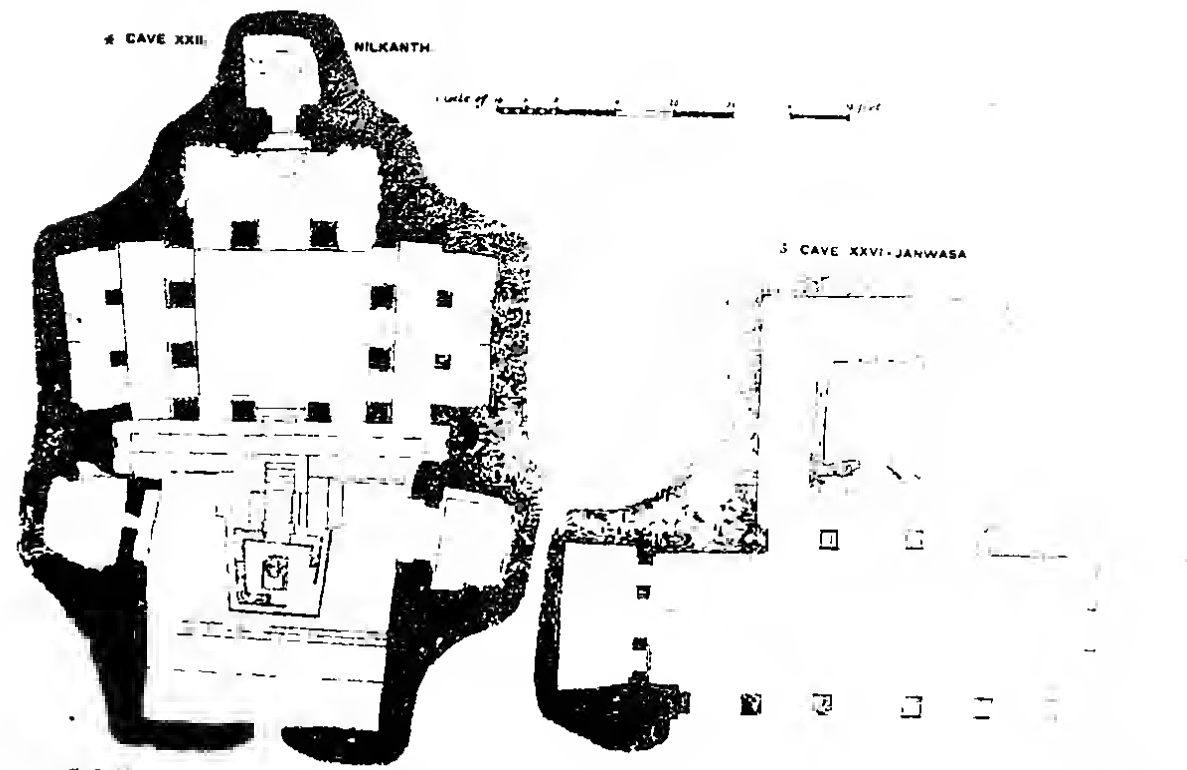


3. ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE BASEMENT OF THE NANDI MANDAPA.

ELURÂ.

Fig 1



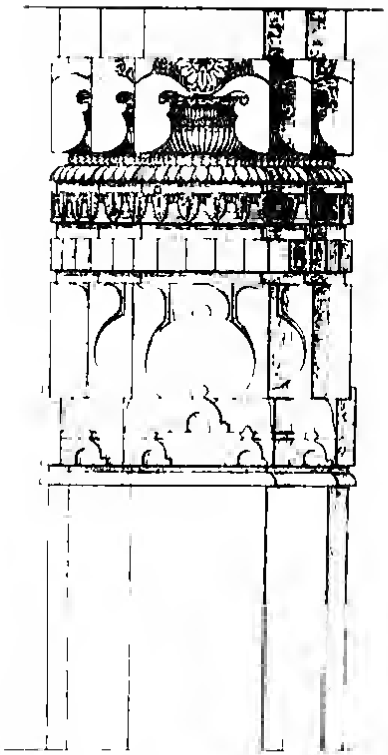


J. Burgess.

ELURA.

1 PILLAR IN CAVE XVII

2 PILLAR IN CAVE XVII



3 PILLAR IN RAMEŚVARA

ELURA

1. SAPTAMĀTRIS IN RAMESVARA.

2. END OF THE CHAPEL

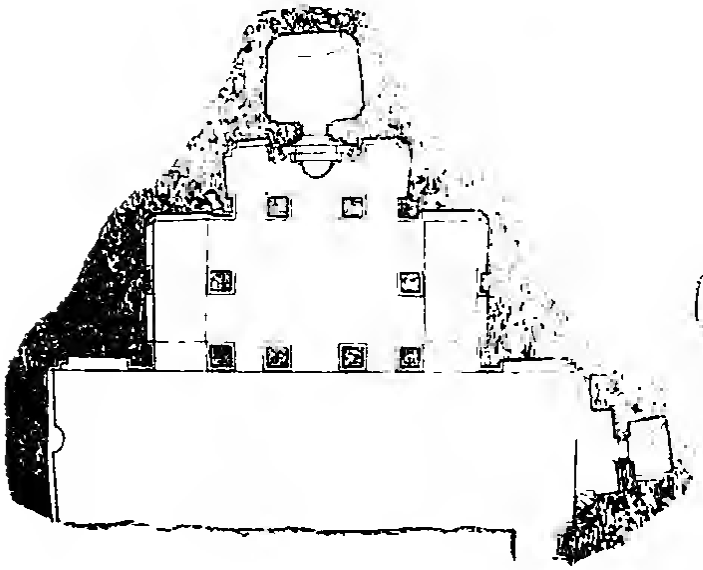
3. SAPTAMĀTRIS IN [illegible]

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.

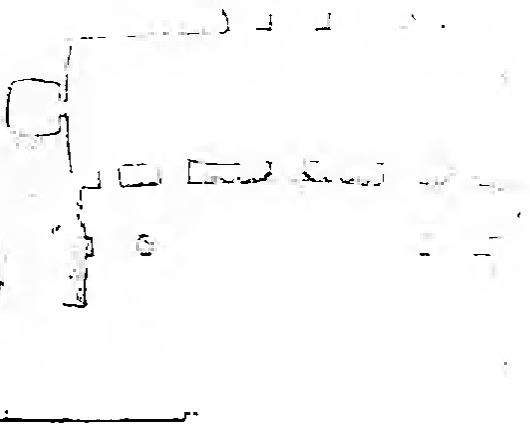
1. BRAHMA AT THE END OF THE VERANDAH CAVE XVII

2. PILLAR IN CAVE XXV

3. PLAN OF KUMBARWADA CAVE XXV



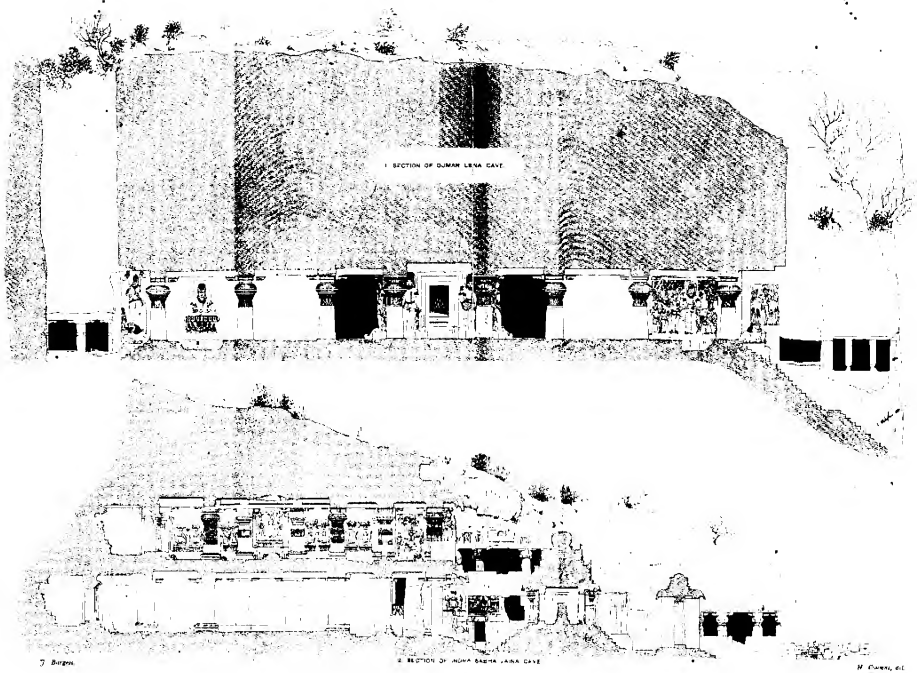
4. PLAN OF CAVE NO XXVII



J. Burgess.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.

ELURA



J. Burgess.

W. Cowen, del.

ELURA.

PILLARS IN THE INDRA SABHA

FIG 1.

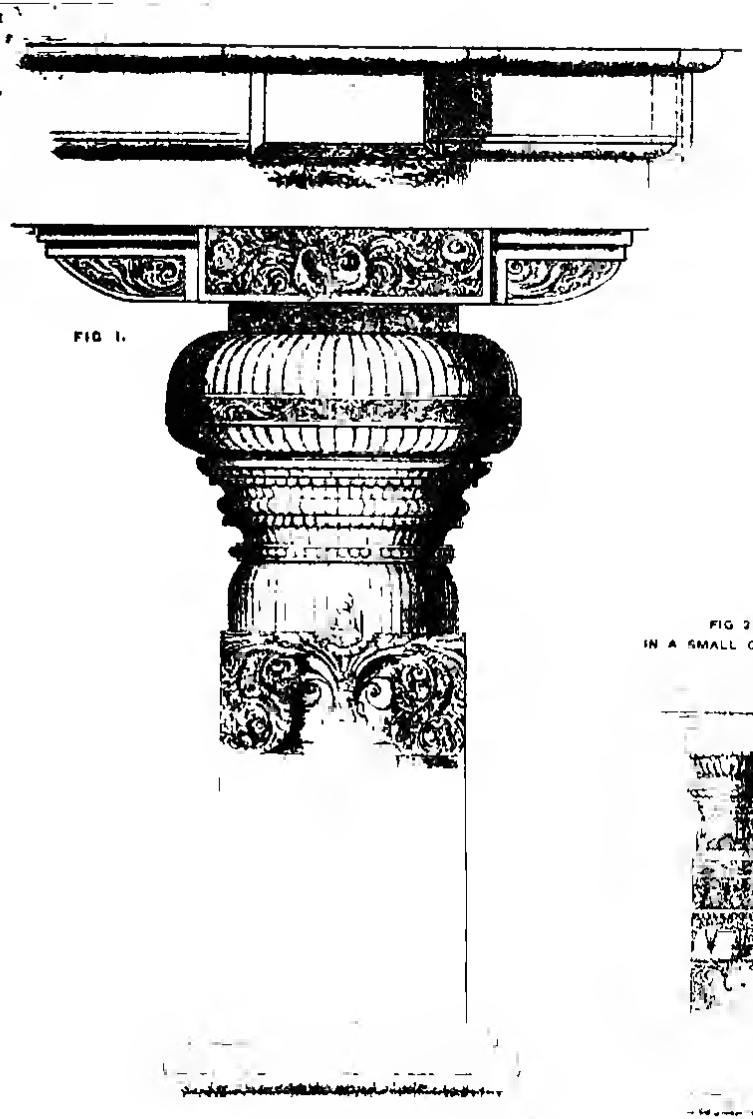


FIG 2
IN A SMALL CHAPEL

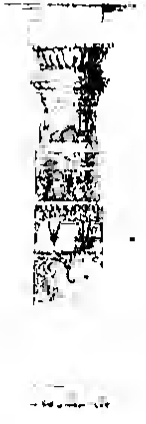


FIG 3. IN THE CENTRAL HALL

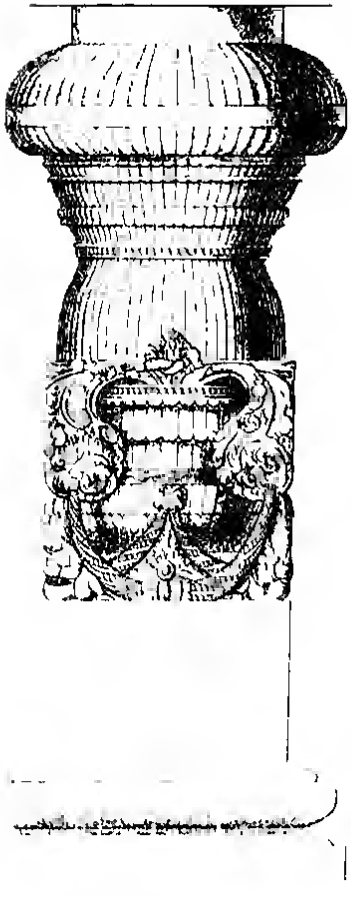
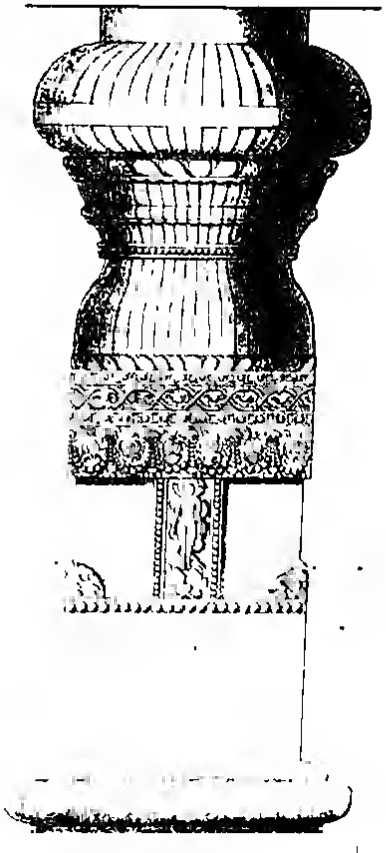
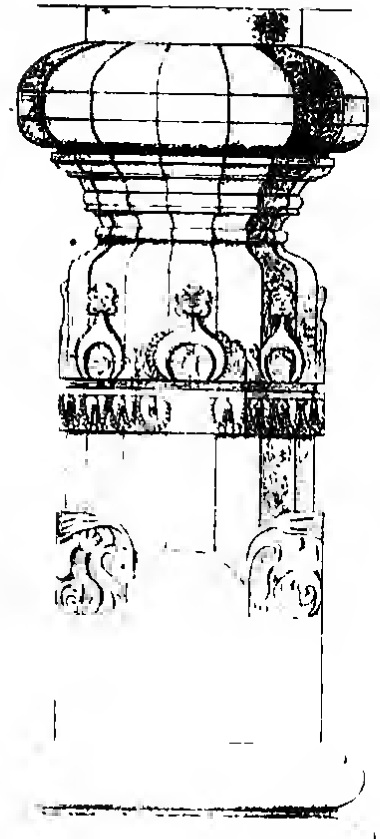


FIG 4. IN THE CENTRAL HALL

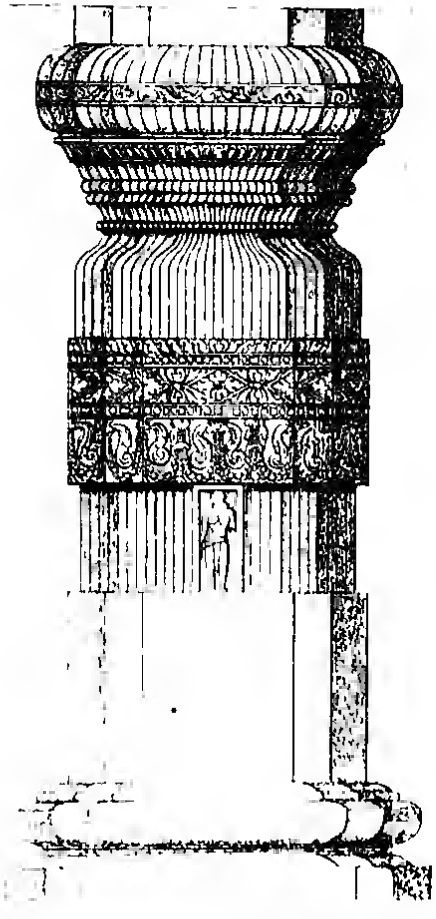


ELURA.–PILLARS IN THE UPPER FLOOR OF THE INDRA SABHA.

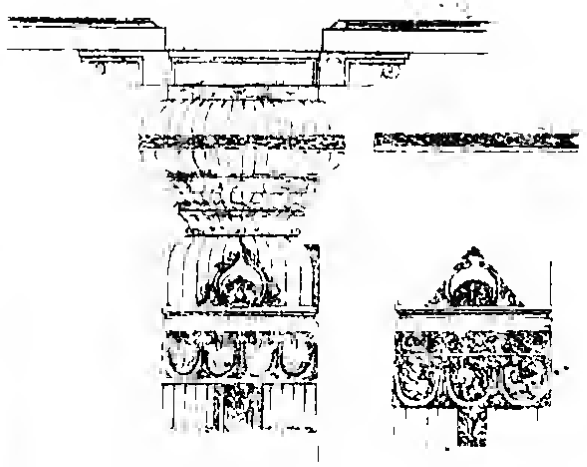
1 COLUMN BETWEEN THE VERANDAH & HALL.



2 COLUMN IN FRONT OF THE VERANDAH

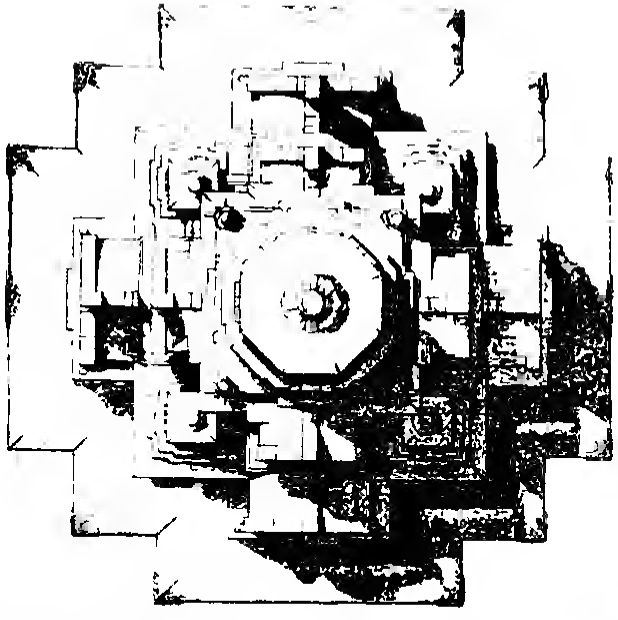


3 PILLAR IN THE WEST WING
UPPER FLOOR



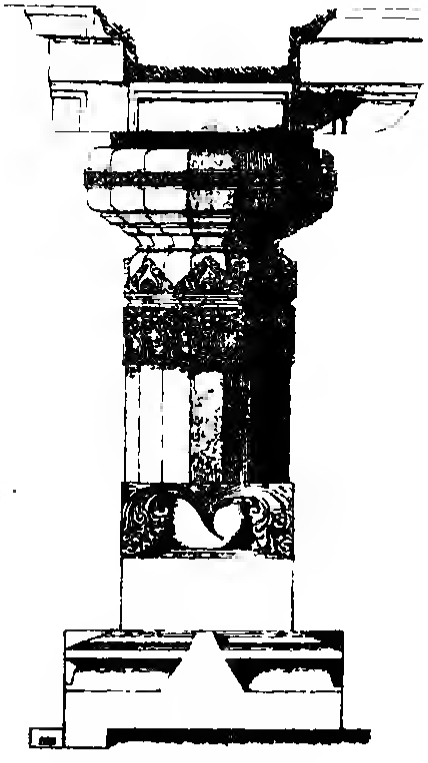
4 ON THE OPPOSITE PILASTER

ELURA JAINA CAVES.

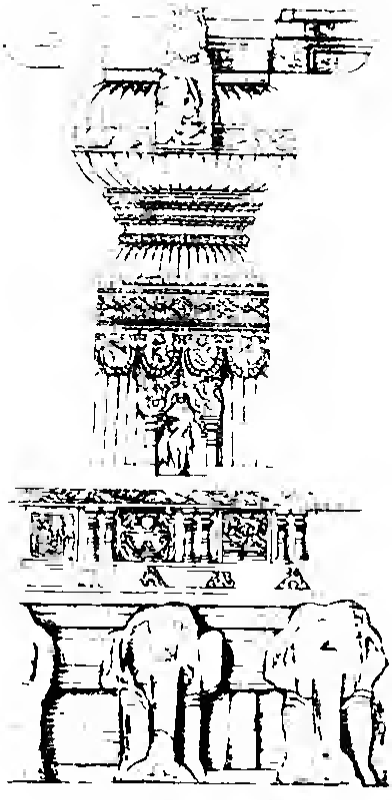


1. ROOF OF THE MANDAPA IN THE COURT OF INDRA SABHA.

2. [illegible]
FROM A [illegible] OF THE INDRA SABHA.



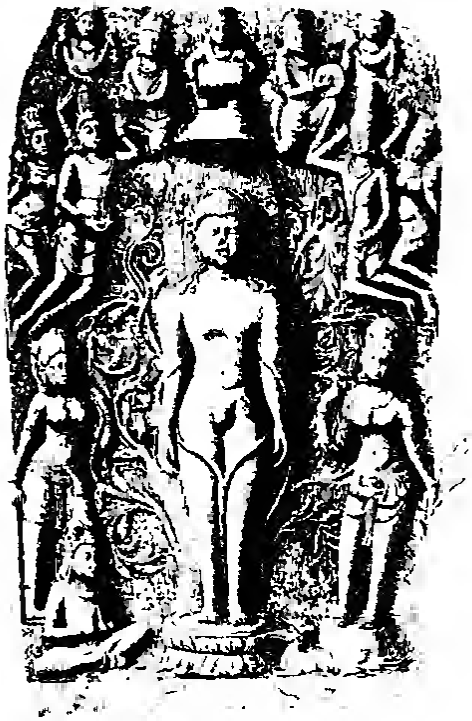
4. PILLAR IN THE LAST JAINA CAVE.



3. PILLAR IN THE JAGANNATH SABHA
GROUND FLOOR.

J. Burgess.

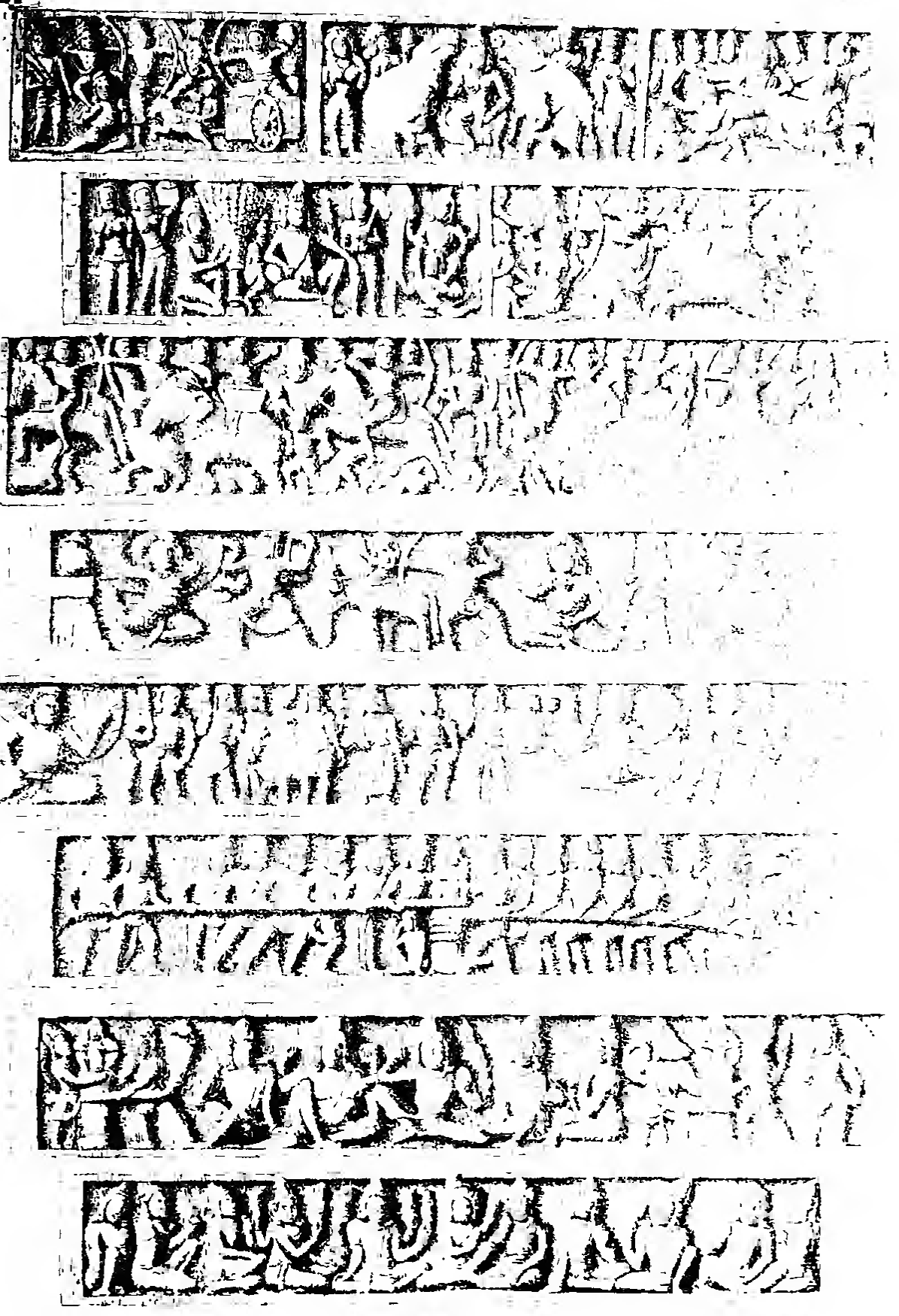
1. GOMATESVARA, IN INDRA SABHA AT ELURA.



2. GENERAL PLAN OF BADAMI CAVES

3. SIVA DANCING, WEST SIDE OF CAVE I AT BADAMI

J. Burgess.



Scale of

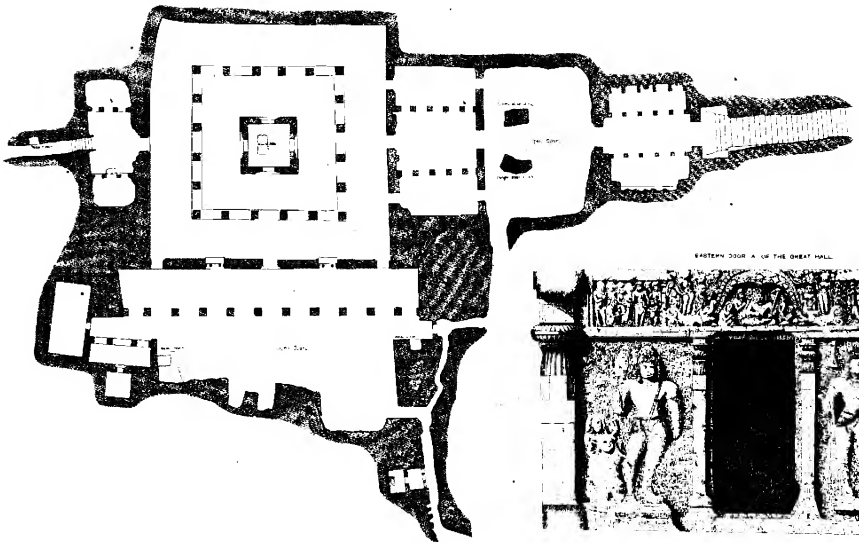
AIHOLE.—BRAHMANICAL CAVE.

1 ŚIVA AND THE RIVER TRIAD

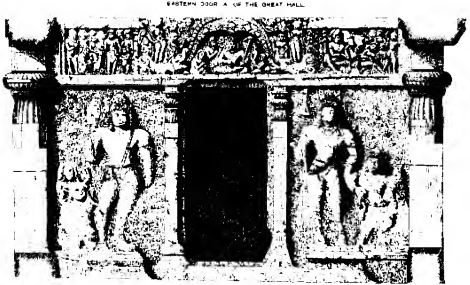
2 ŚIVA

5 ŚIVA DANCING THE TANDAVA

THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE OF JOGESWARI
ON THE
ISLAND OF SALSETTE.



EASTERN DOOR A OF THE GREAT HALL



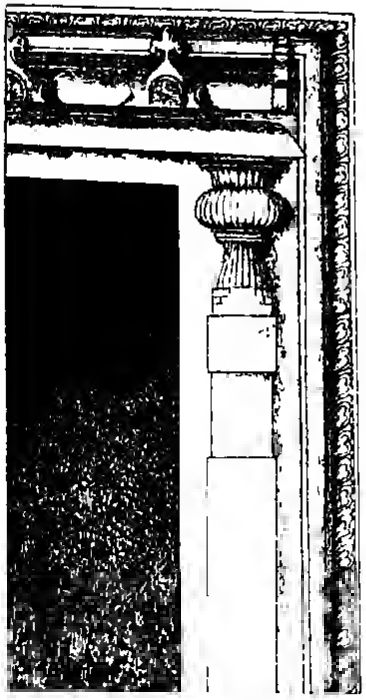
Scale of Feet

J. Burgess

M. Cousens, del.

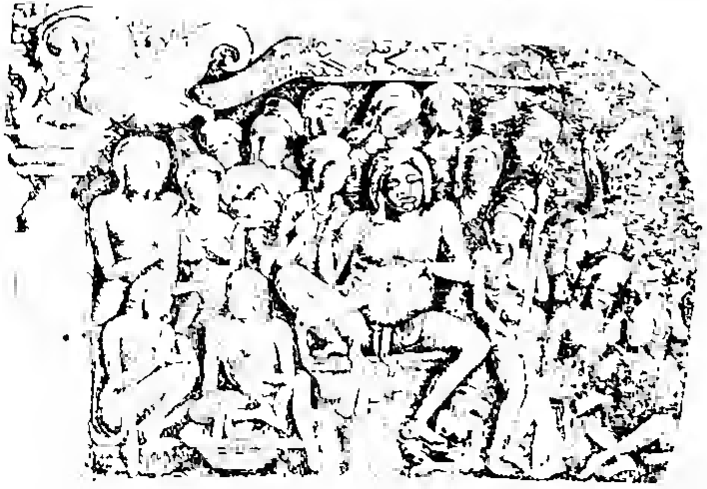
THE CAVE AT LONAD.

1 LEFT PORTION OF THE FRIEZE



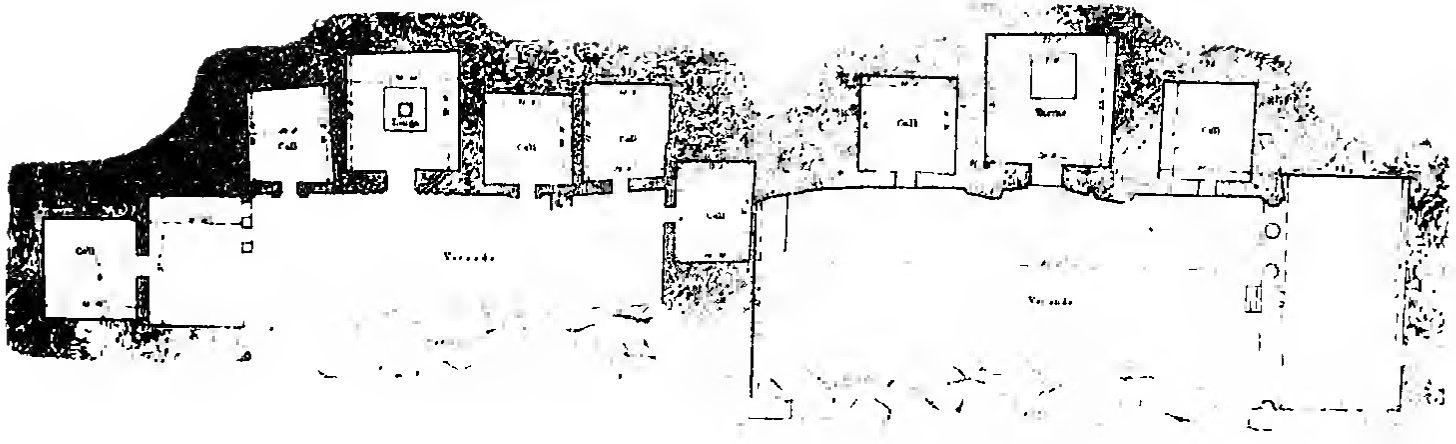
2 CENTPAL DOOR

3 SCULPTURE TO THE RIGHT OF THE FALADE



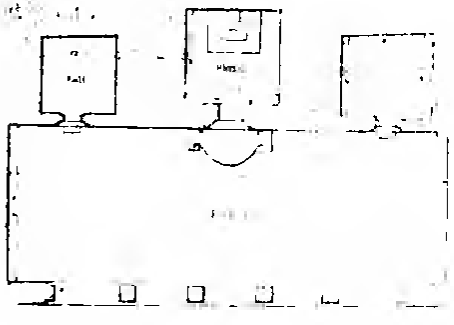
ELEPHANTA.

PLAN OF CAVE III.



PLAN OF CAVE II.

PLAN OF CAVE IV.



3 LONAD-KHANDESVARI CAVE

J. Burgess, del.

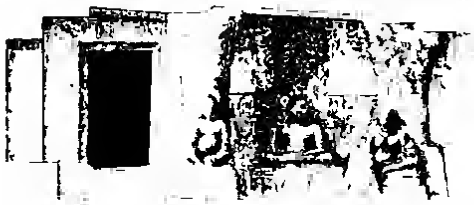
HARISCHANDRAGAD CAVES.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2

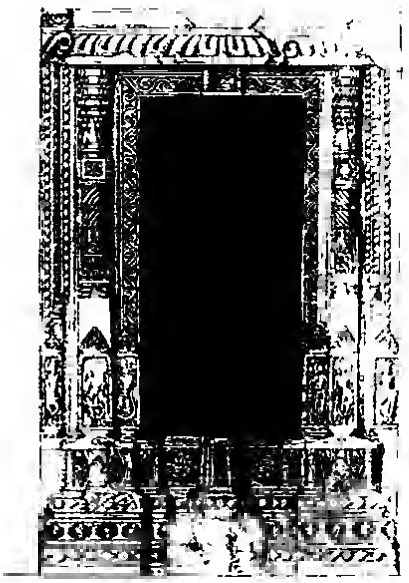
FIG. 3

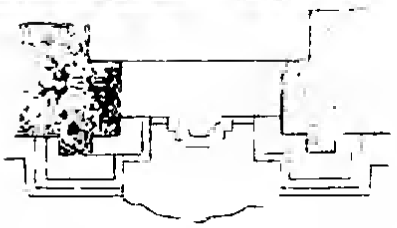
4 PATNA TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NAGARJUNA KOTRI



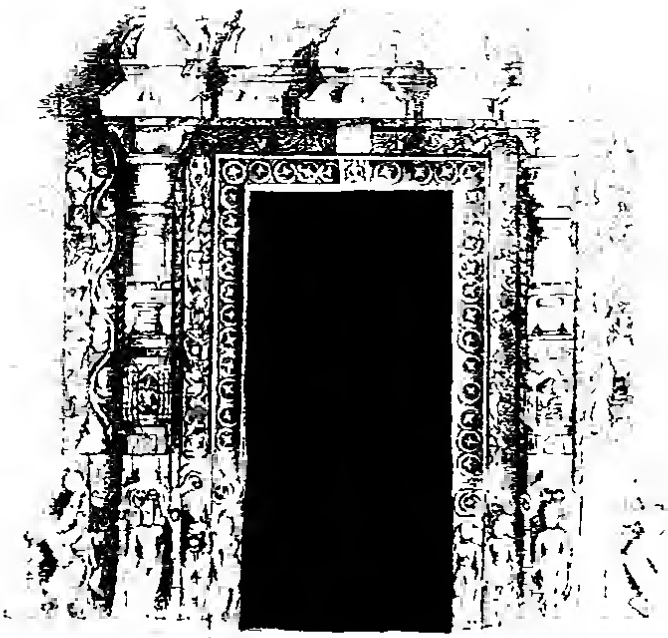
Scale of

5 PATNA HALL DOOR OF SRINGAR CHAVADI





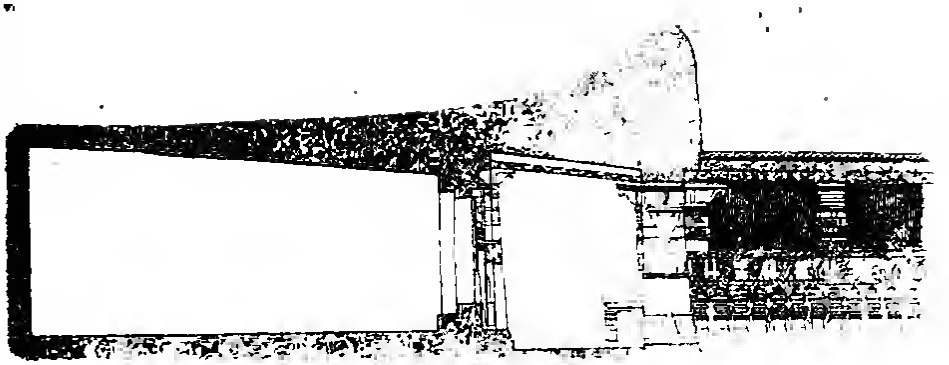
6 [illegible]



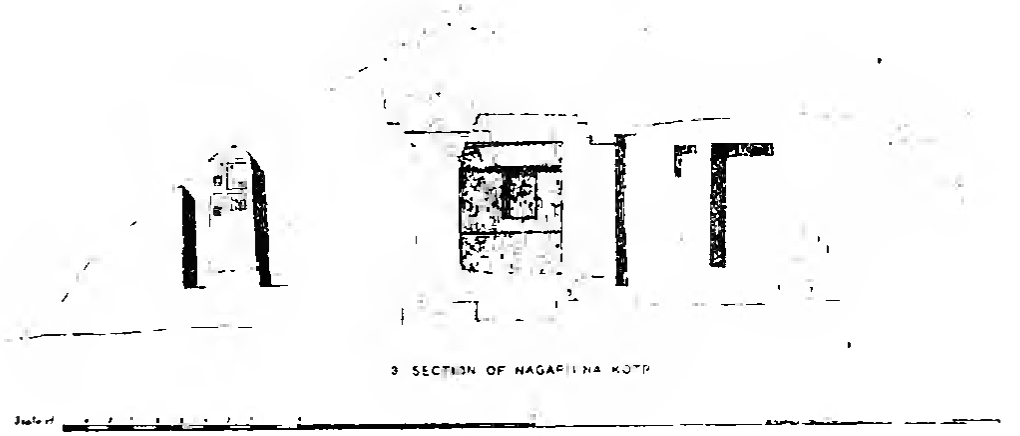
J. Burgess.

Scale of

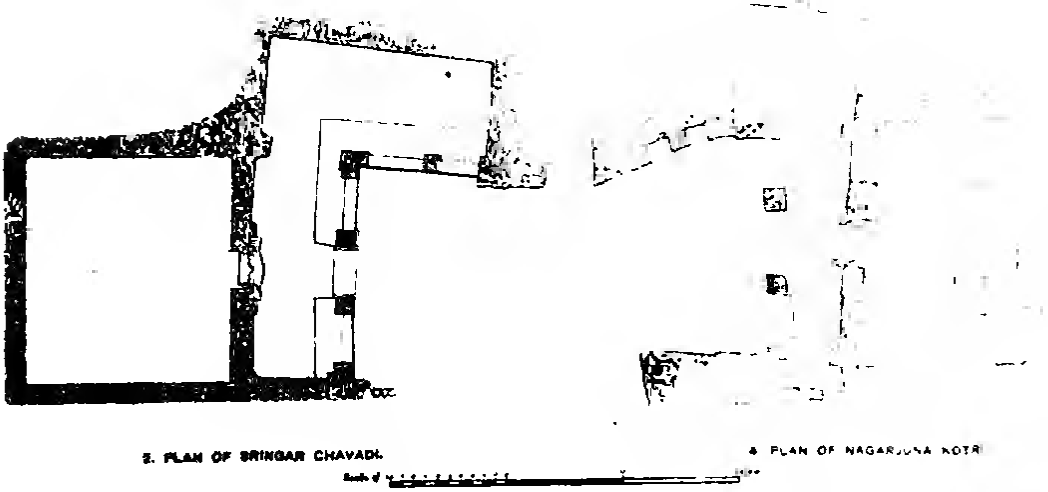
PATNA CAVES.



1. SECTION OF SRINGAR CHAVADI



3. SECTION OF NAGARJUNA KOTR

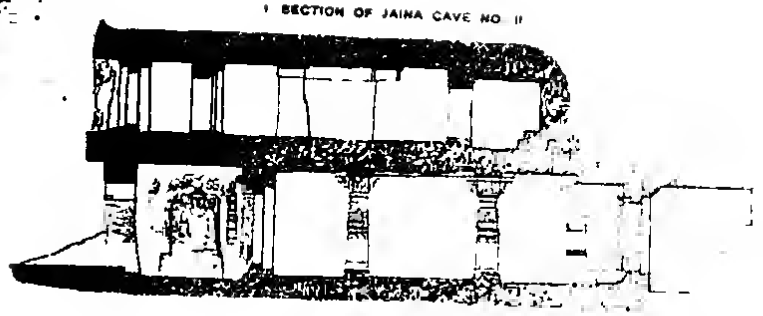


2. PLAN OF SRINGAR CHAVADI.

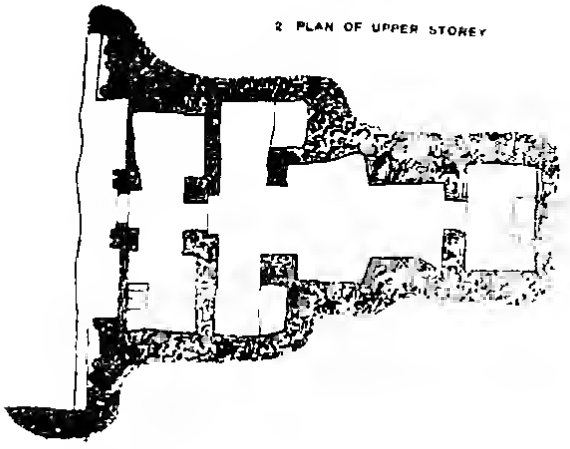
4. PLAN OF NAGARJUNA KOTR

ANKAI CAVES.

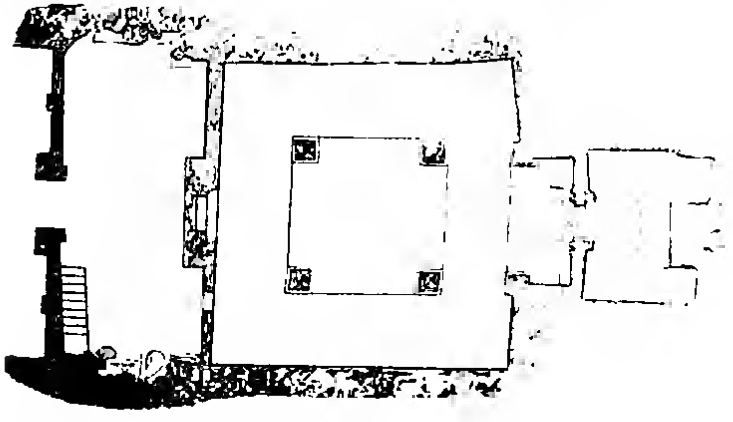
1 SECTION OF JAINA CAVE NO. II



2 PLAN OF UPPER STOREY



3 PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR OF CAVE II

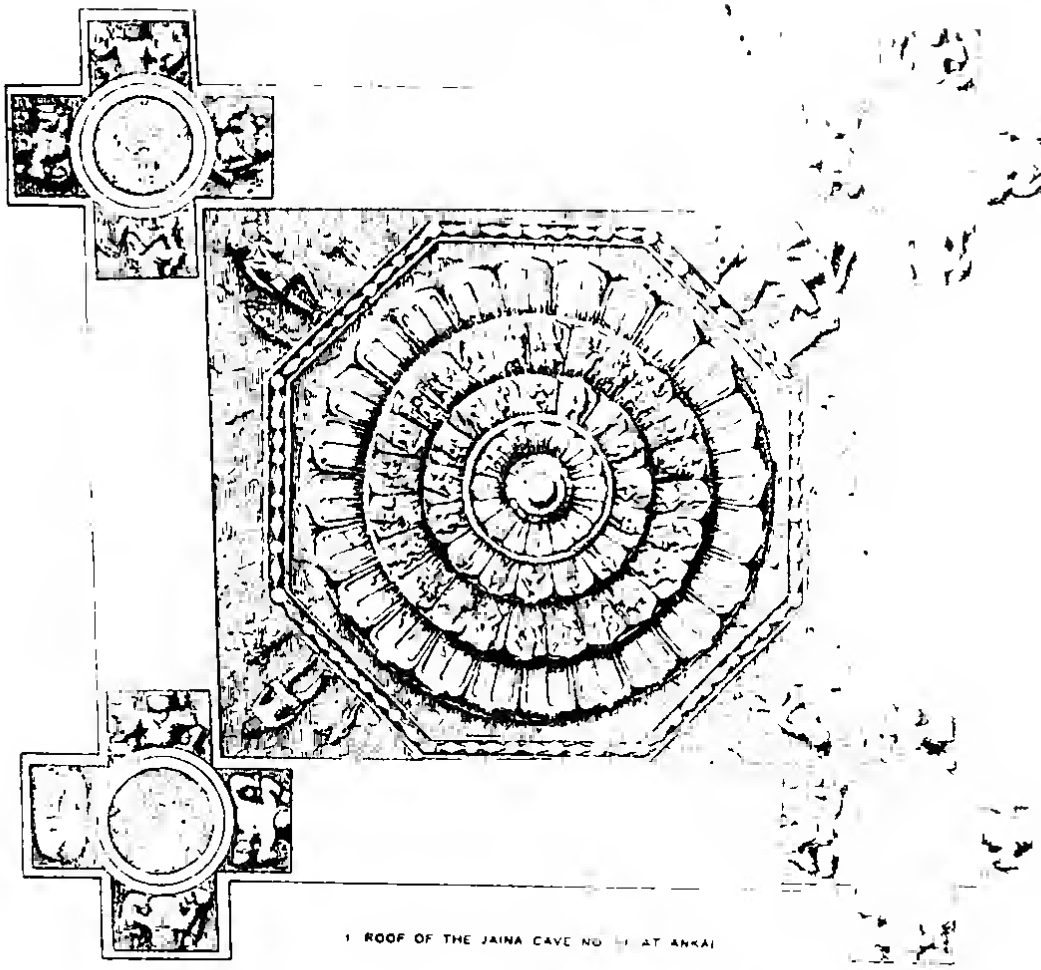


Scale of

Scale to figs 1–3.

J. Burgess.

ANKAI CAVES



1. ROOF OF THE JAINA CAVE NO [illegible] AT ANKAI

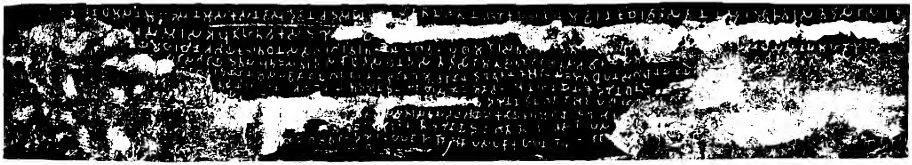
Scale of 4 [illegible] 1 2 3 4

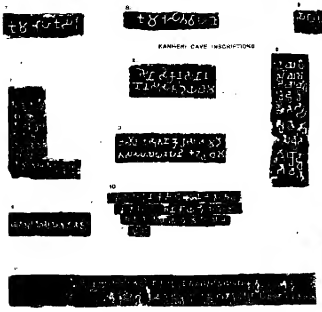
2. FRONT OF THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE NO 1

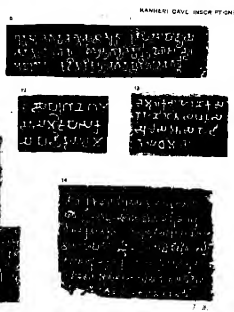
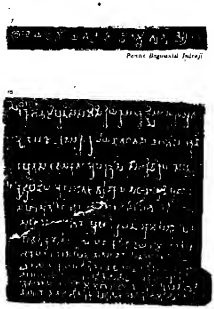
3. [illegible] AT THE ENTRANCE [illegible]

Scale [illegible]

J. Burgess.




KANHERI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS


KANHERI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS